United Nations S/PV.5496

Security Council

Distr.: General
26 July 2006

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 5496th (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private at Headquarters, New York, on Wednesday, 26 July 2006, at 3 p.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"At its 5496th meeting, held in private on 26 July 2006, the Security Council considered the item entitled 'The situation in Afghanistan'.

"The President, with the consent of the Council, extended invitations under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure to the representatives of Afghanistan, Finland and Germany.

"The President, with the consent of the Council, extended an invitations under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Tom Koenigs, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Afghanistan and Head of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan.

"Members of the Council, Mr. Koenigs and the representative of Afghanistan had an exchange of views."

06-44614 (E) 260706

United Nations S/PV.5497

Security Council

Sixty-first year

Provisional

5497th meeting

Thursday, 27 July 2006, 3.40 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. De La Sablière	(France)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Mayoral
	China	Mr. Wang Guangya
	Congo	Mr. Ikouebe
	Denmark	Ms. Løj
	Ghana	Nana Effah-Apenteng
	Greece	Mr. Vassilakis
	Japan	Mr. Oshima
	Peru	Mr. Ruiz Rosas
	Qatar	Mr. Al-Nasser
	Russian Federation	Mr. Dolgov
	Slovakia	Mr. Mlynár
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Ms. Pierce
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Manongi
	United States of America	Ms. Wolcott Sanders

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

06-44740 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East

The President (*spoke in French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Austria, Canada and Finland, in which they request to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the consideration of the item, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Pfanzelter (Austria), Mr. Laurin (Canada) and Ms. Lintonen (Finland) took seats at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

After consultations among the members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

> "The Security Council is deeply shocked and distressed by the firing by the Israel Defense Forces on a United Nations Observer post in southern Lebanon on 25 July 2006, which caused the death of four United Nations military observers.
>
> "The Security Council extends its deepest condolences to the families of those victims and expresses its sympathies to the Governments of Austria, Canada, China and Finland.
>
> "The Security Council calls upon the Government of Israel to conduct a comprehensive inquiry into this incident, taking into account any relevant material from United Nations authorities, and to make the results public as soon as possible.
>
> "The Security Council is deeply concerned about the safety and security of United Nations personnel and in this regard stresses that Israel and all concerned parties must comply fully with their obligations under international humanitarian law related to the protection of United Nations and associated personnel and underlines the importance of ensuring that United Nations personnel are not the object of attack.
>
> "The Security Council expresses its deep concern for Lebanese and Israeli civilian casualties and suffering, the destruction of civil infrastructures and the rising number of internally displaced people.
>
> "The Security Council will remain seized of this matter."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2006/34.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 3.45 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.5498

Security Council

Sixty-first year

Provisional

5498th meeting

Sunday, 30 July 2006, 11.40 a.m.

New York

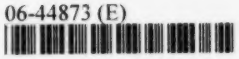
President:	Mr. De La Sablière	(France)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. García Moritán
	China	Mr. Liu Zhenmin
	Congo	Mr. Ikouebe
	Denmark	Ms. Løj
	Ghana	Nana Effah-Apenteng
	Greece	Mr. Vassilakis
	Japan	Mr. Oshima
	Peru	Mr. Pereyra Plasencia
	Qatar	Mr. Al-Nasser
	Russian Federation	Mr. Churkin
	Slovakia	Mr. Mlynár
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Manongi
	United States of America	Mr. Bolton

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

06-44873 (E)



The meeting was called to order at 11.40 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East

The President (*spoke in French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Israel and Lebanon, in which they request to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the consideration of the item, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Gillerman (Israel) and Mr. Mahmoud (Lebanon) took seats at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to photocopies of a letter dated 29 July 2006 from the Secretary-General, which will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/2006/595.

I now give the floor to the Secretary-General, His Excellency, Mr. Kofi Annan.

The Secretary-General: Let me thank you, Mr. President, for arranging this meeting on very short notice.

We meet at a moment of extreme gravity, first and foremost for the people of the Middle East, but also for the authority of this Organization, and especially the Security Council. As the Council is aware, during the night the Israeli air force bombed the village of Qana, in southern Lebanon. That village is no longer in the area of operations of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). We therefore had no United Nations personnel nearby at the time of the attack, although Chinese engineers and two medical teams have now managed to reach the area. They are helping to clear the rubble and are giving treatment to survivors. I am therefore relying on the Lebanese authorities for my information. Preliminary reports say that at least 54 people have been killed, among them at least 37 children.

We must condemn this action in the strongest possible terms, and I appeal to the Council to do likewise.

I am deeply dismayed that my earlier calls for the immediate cessation of hostilities were not heeded, with the result that innocent life continues to be taken and innocent civilians continue to suffer. I repeat that call once again from the Council Chamber, and I appeal to the Council to do likewise. I send my deepest condolences to the families of all the victims of violence — in Lebanon, in Israel and in the occupied Palestinian territory, including Gaza.

This tragedy has rightly provoked moral outrage throughout the world. Regrettably, some Lebanese people have turned their anger against the Organization. Earlier today a large number of protesters broke into our headquarters in Beirut and briefly set it afire. I am glad to say that the fire was quickly put out. As of now, three staff members have been reported injured — and, I am glad to say, none critically. The demonstrators have now left the building, after intervention by the Lebanese armed forces. I am deeply grateful to the Government of Lebanon for that prompt action, as well as to the Speaker of the Lebanese parliament, Mr. Nabih Berri, and other Lebanese leaders whose statesmanlike appeals for calm were decisive.

The United Nations House is the hub of our humanitarian activities in Lebanon, which will continue throughout the country. But, naturally, we fear similar reactions elsewhere in the region or in the wider Islamic world. I appeal to the authorities and people in all countries to respect and ensure the safety of United Nations personnel. I appeal to everyone to understand that we are doing our best to help, through diplomacy, humanitarian action and through the efforts of UNIFIL, which, as all are aware, suffered tragic losses only a few days ago.

The tragic events in Qana remind us that 10 years ago over 100 people who had taken refuge in that same village suffered a similar fate. We must deliver the region from this seemingly endless cycle of violence.

In the last 18 days several hundred Lebanese citizens have been killed, the vast majority of them civilians and at least a third of them children. During the same period hundreds of thousands of Lebanese have had to flee their homes, many of them under heavy shelling. Meanwhile, over 50 Israelis have died, including 19 civilians; and the population of northern Israel has been subjected to intense and continuous rocket fire. Thousands are now in shelters. It is important to stress that both sides in this conflict bear a heavy responsibility, and there is strong prima facie evidence that both have committed grave breaches of international humanitarian law.

The present fighting began on 12 July with an unprovoked Hizbollah attack on Israel and the kidnapping of two Israeli soldiers. Since then, Hizbollah has continued firing rockets indiscriminately into northern Israel from positions apparently located in the midst of civilian populations. No one disputes Israel's right to defend itself, but by its manner of doing so it has caused, and is causing, death and suffering on a wholly unacceptable scale.

As the Council is aware, I have repeatedly condemned all actions that target civilians. The High Commissioner for Human Rights has reminded all parties that they may be held accountable for any breaches of international humanitarian law. But the most urgent need is to bring the fighting to a halt without further delay. For that, the Council has a solemn responsibility. Action is needed now, before many more children, women and men become casualties of a conflict over which they have no control. I therefore reiterate my call for an immediate cessation of hostilities, to allow desperately needed humanitarian relief to reach the victims.

While that is happening, we can work together on the political framework needed for a lasting ceasefire and a sustainable solution, the strengthening of Lebanon's Government, the disarming of all militia and the implementation of all Security Council resolutions, including resolutions 1559 (2004) and 1680 (2006). I will work with the Council on the development and deployment of a stabilization force to support the Government of Lebanon in its decision and responsibility to extend its authority throughout the country.

I know there are differences among Council members about the precise sequence of actions needed. I beg them to set those differences aside and come together on the most urgent point: the immediate cessation of hostilities.

I should also share with the Council that, this morning in my conversation with Prime Minister Siniora of Lebanon, he told me his Government had taken a decision that it would no longer engage in further diplomatic discussions and efforts to find a solution without a ceasefire. I asked him whether the Government as a whole had taken that decision, and he reaffirmed that it was the decision of his Government.

The other information that I would like to share with the Council is that UNIFIL did receive a request from the Israel Defense Forces for the population of two villages — Ramyah and Ayta al-Shab — to be evacuated before sunset today. Of course, UNIFIL has refused to evacuate the villages, indicating that it does not have the capacity to do so. These requests have often come, where their assistance is required, from the Government of Lebanon. That is something I thought members should know, to let them understand the dynamics in the region and in the south.

Let me conclude by stating very clearly and briefly that the authority and standing of the Security Council are at stake. The authority and standing of the Council are at stake: people have noticed its failure to act firmly and quickly during this crisis. Today's events at the Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA) were in part an expression of that frustration.

For the sake of the people of the region and of the Organization, I urge the Council to act, and to act now.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

I now give the floor to the representative of Lebanon.

Mr. Mahmoud (Lebanon) (*spoke in Arabic*): We thank you, Mr. President, for quickly convening the Security Council this morning. We thank the Secretary-General for his renewed appeal for an immediate ceasefire and his call on the Security Council to take a position on the current situation.

We meet today as innocent blood continues to be shed, as we hear mothers cry, awaiting the burial of the children-victims of Qana. We have come to ask, "When will the killing machine stop?" This week is the third

in which acts of killing and destruction have continued. Now, the hamlet of Qana once again meets its fate with Israel, 10 years on — Qana, that peaceful, quiet hamlet, where children, women and old people sought refuge, attempting to keep their spark of life alive in the darkness of the shelters.

Israel's shells do not recognize the innocence of children or the sanctity of life. Rescue workers have pulled more than 60 corpses from under a residential building. More corpses continue to be pulled from the ruins, mostly women and children, and thus the final number of victims of the latest Israeli massacre has yet to be tallied. Undoubtedly, in their conscience, in their deepest heart of human hearts, the members of the Council all know that Israel is committing war massacres. Israel is committing atrocities against humanity. The regrettable fact that such massacres have yet to be addressed by resolutions of the Security Council does not mean that the truth is to remain hidden.

This tragedy came at a time when the Government of Lebanon, in consultation with friendly States, was seeking a window to resolve the crisis raging in Lebanon. The Prime Minister of Lebanon, Fouad Siniora, on behalf of the united Lebanese Government, set forth Lebanon's understanding of the seven-point plan, beginning with an immediate comprehensive ceasefire. However, it seems that Israel has other solutions: solutions of shells and aircraft bombing children; solutions of siege preventing medication and food from reaching civilians in their villages; solutions of collective punishment and collective killing; and challenging the will of the overwhelming majority of the countries of Council members, and all countries of the world, calling for an immediate ceasefire.

Now, after the massacre — after many massacres, after the second Qana massacre — in respect for the dignity and the will of the Lebanese people, in memory of the martyrs who fell today and who have fallen during the past three weeks, we believe that it is neither viable nor acceptable to consider solutions before an immediate comprehensive ceasefire.

The Lebanese people who demonstrated in the streets and squares of Beirut last year, who called for truth, independence and freedom — the Lebanese people that the Council supported in its many resolutions, whose democracy and vitality the Council proclaimed and welcomed — are today, with one voice, mourning their martyrs. Together with their Government, they are calling upon the Council to bring and end to the firing immediately, without delay, and to undertake an effective and serious investigation of this massacre and of the massacres that Israel has perpetrated on the land of Lebanon over the past three weeks.

We are committed to the United Nations. We believe it to be a haven for the weak and the victims of injustice, more than a podium for the strong. Will we find in the Security Council what the wounded Lebanese people seek?

The Lebanese Government, through its Prime Minister, has addressed the diplomatic corps. I will now read out the Prime Minister's statement.

(*spoke in English*)

> "I shall be brief. This is the time for action, not talk. With the backing and support of the entire nation, we have left no stone unturned and no avenue unexplored in our sincere desire for a rapid and comprehensive ceasefire and an end to the lethal rampage and carnage carried out by the Israeli army over the past 18 days in their systematic determination to destroy Lebanon. We were confident that the seven-point plan I proposed at the Rome Conference would be supported by all peace-loving Nations.
>
> "Instead, the Israeli response has been yet another massacre of innocent women and children in the town of Qana, which suffered a similar human tragedy 10 years ago, when Israel cold-bloodedly murdered more than 100 civilians who had taken refuge at the United Nations outpost there. They called it 'Grapes of Wrath'. What principle of warfare will they invoke this time? Why, we wonder, did they choose Qana yet again? Perhaps this time we should call it 'Grapes of Hatred'.
>
> "We can only reassert that there is no place on this sad day for any discussion, other than our call for an immediate and unconditional ceasefire and withdrawal to behind the Blue Line, as well as an international investigation, without delay, into the continuing Israeli massacres in Lebanon in violation of international laws and conventions and basic human decency. We cannot be expected

to negotiate or discuss anything else while the ruthless, pitiless sword of the Israeli war machine continues to drip with the blood of innocent women and children.

"I also ask you — and this is why I called you here today — to urge your Governments, especially those who are members of the Security Council, to back our request for an immediate meeting of the Security Council and our call for an unconditional ceasefire.

"Finally, I would like to assure you that, while we can understand the anger being expressed during the spontaneous demonstration at United Nations House that you have been witnessing on your televisions, we deplore the attacks against the building and ask the demonstrators to express themselves peacefully. United Nations House is a house for all Lebanese.

"Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, I know that, deep within you, in your heart of hearts, you know that Israel is committing atrocities on a scale that your conscience cannot tolerate. So do pass on the truth — the whole, unadulterated truth — to your Governments and organizations and urge them to move swiftly to ensure an immediate, unconditional ceasefire and withdrawal to the Blue Line and to back our call for an immediate meeting of the Security Council."

(*spoke in Arabic*)

I express the hope that Security Council members will support Lebanon's call for an urgent Council meeting and the call for an immediate ceasefire and for an immediate investigation into the massacres perpetrated in Lebanon by Israel.

The President (*spoke in French*): I now call on the representative of Israel.

Mr. Gillerman (Israel): I thank the Secretary-General for honouring us with his presence.

This is a horrible, sad and bloody Sunday. This is a day on which we mourn and grieve, together with the people of Lebanon, at the deaths of the innocents and civilians in Kafr Qana. Those people, including women and children, who were killed in this horrible, tragic incident may have been killed by Israeli fire, but they are the victims of Hizbollah: they are the victims of terror. If there were no Hizbollah, this would never have happened. If Lebanon were free of the stranglehold of that monster, this would never have happened. And, while we mourn the deaths of those people, we must stress that Israel has never targeted — and in this particular case did not target — innocent people.

Kafr Qana has been a hub for Hizbollah for a long time. Hizbollah has been launching missiles and rockets at Israel from Kafr Qana. We will make available to the Security Council a film that shows Hizbollah launching a rocket from right behind a three-storey house: a civilian residence very similar to the one that was hit today in Kafr Qana. That is the sad reality.

Israel has repeatedly beseeched the residents of Qana to leave. I would not be surprised if Hizbollah made them stay. We are dealing with a ruthless, cynical, cruel enemy, one of the most monstrous terror organizations that this world has ever known. They have no regard for Israeli life, and they have no regard for Lebanese life. They do not care about the people of Lebanon. They have infiltrated every fibre and every cell of that country, so that, in the words of my esteemed Lebanese colleague who appeared on United States television only last week, "You cannot distinguish in Lebanon between Hizbollah and the Lebanese." In his words, Hizbollah is everywhere; in his words, Hizbollah has infiltrated and become part of Lebanese society.

But there is a huge moral disequivalence between the two sides. While our enemies — who only today have launched more than 100 missiles at Israeli towns and villages — specifically target women and children in order to kill them, we are defending ourselves in this brutal war. And sometimes, tragically, as happened today, women and children get hurt, because they are used as human shields by Hizbollah. Hizbollah has homes in Lebanon that house missiles — in which the family sleeps with a missile. When you sleep with a missile, sometimes you do not wake up in the morning. In Israel, we have homes that are equipped with air raid shelters to save people from bombs; in Lebanon, they have homes that they equip to launch missiles, taking into account that those people could be killed.

Today, we say that we are truly sorry for the people of Lebanon and for the people who were killed. I have never heard Hizbollah say that they are sorry for

a single Israeli — woman, child, elderly person, civilian or innocent — who has been killed. Never. Why? Because they target us specifically. That is their declared aim, and that is what we are fighting. And while for us every dead Lebanese child is a horrible mistake and a tragedy, for them every dead Israeli child is a victory and a cause for celebration.

I am saying emphatically at this table that I would not be surprised, because of their cynicism and brutality and total disregard for human life, if this is exactly what Hizbollah wanted to happen. I would not be surprised if this is something that they wanted and wished for precisely today, the day when Secretary Rice is in the region trying to reach a settlement. Because members of the Council know better than I that on any given day when we are so close to reaching a settlement, the terrorists, the extremists, the fundamentalists snatch it away from us, because they do not want a settlement.

And I must say that I feel that what is happening around this table today is exactly what they wanted to happen. Today, while there is mourning in Israel and in many other places around the world, there may very well be jubilation in Tehran, in Damascus and in the Hizbollah strongholds, because this is exactly what they want to happen. They want the Council to be called up to arms and to seize the fire. They want it to do exactly what it is being asked to do today. They want the Council to react the way in which it does.

I know that these are harsh words, but I believe them with all my heart. I beseech members not to play into their hands, not to provide them with what they seek while they sacrifice their own people as human shields and as victims.

And today, of all days, I would like to ask my Lebanese friend: tell your people, the brave people of Lebanon, the Government that you represent and your brave Prime Minister, for whom we have a lot of respect, that the demonstrations held today in Beirut should not be against the United Nations; they should be against Hizbollah. Hizbollah is the one that has caused you all this pain. Hizbollah is the monster that you have allowed to grow. If you had taken care of it before, if you had deployed your forces in the south, this would never have happened. And if the Security Council had enforced resolution 1559 (2004), this would never have happened. Tell your people to demonstrate not for blood, but for peace and for hope.

If we want to live together in this tough neighbourhood and in this blood-ridden region, we need to create a culture of hope rather than a culture of violence. We need to create a culture in which the children who were hurt in Qana would have been at school today rather than huddled together as hostages for Hizbollah — a culture in which the children of Qiryat Shemona would have gone to school today instead of being scared and huddling in bomb shelters because of Katyusha rockets. We need to change the culture of hatred. We need to teach our children about hope. And we should not let what happened today — tragic and horrible as it is — change the facts and the truth. And that is that Hizbollah must be totally disarmed. Otherwise, if there is a ceasefire today and if Hizbollah remains with its capabilities and its huge arsenal of arms, it will raise its ugly head again. And it will rise not just against us and against the people of Lebanon, but against the whole region and civilization as we know it. Do not let Iran and Tehran, the sponsors of Hizbollah, have their day. Make it clear that this must end — not that hostilities and fire must end, but that terror and Hizbollah must end, because until they do, there will be hostilities and there will be fire, and more innocents will pay the price.

The President (*spoke in French*): I give the floor to the representative of Lebanon.

Mr. Mahmoud (Lebanon) (*spoke in Arabic*): I apologize for taking the floor a second time.

What good is it to try to deflect attention from the real massacre, its causes and the source of the fire? The Lebanese Government has from day one been calling for a ceasefire. Only an immediate ceasefire will give civilians from both sides of the border a chance to be saved from what has been taking place. Even the humanitarian truce suggested by the Secretary-General before the weekend was rejected.

It has been clear from the very beginning that it was not Hizbollah that was the target. It was Lebanon that was the target. Infrastructure was targeted and hundreds of civilians were killed before Israel even took up any campaign against Hizbollah and its positions.

The Prime Minister has emphatically denied the allegation that rockets were fired from near the area that was bombed. In Ramyah and Ayta al-Shab, civilians will attempt to go to sleep tonight in fear of Israeli action, after their warning. There is the potential

for a new catastrophe in southern Lebanon if a ceasefire is not declared.

The President (*spoke in French*): There are no more speakers inscribed on my list.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

In accordance with the understanding reached earlier, I should now like to invite Council members to informal consultations following the adjournment of this meeting.

The meeting rose at 12.15 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.5499

Security Council

Sixty-first year

Provisional

5499th meeting

Sunday, 30 July 2006, 8.30 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. De La Sablière	(France)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Mayoral
	China	Mr. Liu Zhenmin
	Congo	Mr. Biaboroh-Iboro
	Denmark	Ms. Løj
	Ghana	Nana Effah-Apenteng
	Greece	Mr. Vassilakis
	Japan	Mr. Oshima
	Peru	Mr. Pereyra Plasencia
	Qatar	Mr. Al-Nasser
	Russian Federation	Mr. Churkin
	Slovakia	Mr. Mlynár
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Salaita
	United States of America	Mr. Bolton

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East

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06-44899 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 8.30 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East

The President (*spoke in French*): Pursuant to the decision taken at the 5498th meeting, held earlier today, I acknowledge the presence of the representatives of Israel and Lebanon at the Council table, in accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

After consultations among the members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council expresses its extreme shock and distress at the shelling by the Israeli Defense Forces of a residential building in Qana, in southern Lebanon, which has caused the killing of dozens of civilians, mostly children, and injured many others. The Security Council sends its deepest condolences to the families of the victims and to the Lebanese people.

"The Security Council strongly deplores this loss of innocent lives and the killing of civilians in the present conflict and requests the Secretary-General to report to it within one week on the circumstances of this tragic incident.

"The Security Council expresses its concern at the threat of escalation of violence with further grave consequences for the humanitarian situation, calls for an end to violence, and underscores the urgency of securing a lasting, permanent and sustainable ceasefire.

"The Security Council expresses again its utmost concern at the Lebanese and Israeli civilian casualties and human suffering, the widespread destruction of civilian infrastructure, and the increased number of internally displaced persons.

"The Security Council urges all parties to grant immediate and unlimited access to humanitarian assistance.

"The Security Council deplores any action against United Nations personnel and calls for full respect for the safety and security of all United Nations personnel and premises.

"The Security Council affirms its determination to work without any further delay to adopt a resolution for a lasting settlement of the crisis, drawing on diplomatic efforts under way.

"The Security Council remains seized of the matter."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2006/35.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 8.35 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.5500

Security Council

Sixty-first year

Provisional

5500th meeting

Monday, 31 July 2006, 10 a.m.

New York

President:	De La Sablière	(France)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Mayoral
	China	Mr. Liu Zhenmin
	Congo	Mr. Ikouebe
	Denmark	Ms. Løj
	Ghana	Nana Effah-Apenteng
	Greece	Mr. Vassilakis
	Japan	Mr. Oshima
	Peru	Mr. Pereyra Plasencia
	Qatar	Mr. Al-Nasser
	Russian Federation	Mr. Churkin
	Slovakia	Mr. Mlynár
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Manongi
	United States of America	Mr. Bolton

Agenda

Non-proliferation

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06-44964 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Non-proliferation

The President (*spoke in French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Germany and the Islamic Republic of Iran, in which they request to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the consideration of the item, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Zarif (Iran) took a seat at the Council table; Mr. von Ungern-Sternberg (Germany) took the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2006/589, which contains a draft resolution submitted by France, Germany and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to two letters from the representative of France contained in documents S/2006/521 and S/2006/573.

I should like also to draw the attention of Council members to the reports of the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency dated 27 February and 28 April 2006, contained in documents S/2006/150 and S/2006/270, respectively.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, China, Congo, Denmark, France, Ghana, Greece, Japan, Peru, Russian Federation, Slovakia, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America

Against:

Qatar

The President (*spoke in French*): The result of the voting is as follows: 14 votes in favour and one against. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 1696 (2006).

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Al-Nasser (Qatar) (*spoke in Arabic*): In life people behave in ways that best suit them. The results of their behaviour are sometimes beneficial, and sometimes negative — which can lead to destruction. The same thing can be said of natural phenomena. When circumstances oblige people to live in a volcanic area, where some volcanoes are actually erupting, some are active and might erupt at any moment, and some are dormant but might suddenly become active, uncertainty prevails because people do not know when such phenomena might occur. In difficult circumstances, therefore, one must act in a manner that takes fully into account the behaviour of human beings.

For more than two decades, our region has been surrounded by fires. No sooner does one die down than another breaks out. Troubles and sectarianism fan the flames of such fires.

Ever since the question of Iran's nuclear programme was brought before the Council, we have repeatedly underscored the importance of finding a political solution to this problem and of giving diplomacy enough time to bring about a peaceful solution. Such a solution can be reached only if all parties concerned show flexibility, wisdom and a sense of responsibility.

We are grateful for the efforts made by the six States in order to reach a peaceful solution through offering Iran a comprehensive package. We deem this a bold and commendable step. However, we believe that

Iran is also called upon seriously to address the concerns of the international community about the very nature of its nuclear programme, to ensure that it is used exclusively for peaceful purposes.

There is no doubt that this is a legitimate demand that we all are making. However, we do not agree with the submission of this draft resolution at a time when our region is inflamed. We would have seen no harm in waiting a few days so as to exhaust all possible ways and means in order to determine Iran's real intentions and the degree of its willingness to cooperate, particularly since Iran has not rejected the package that was offered to it; it has simply asked for a period of time in which to consider it. This prompts us to ask members of the Council to accede to this request. We have been patient, and, indeed, our Council has waited longer to act on much more burning issues.

The State of Qatar is fully committed to the unity of the Council, particularly when it comes to very sensitive issues. We have reiterated our intention to join in this unity. However, the fact that this draft resolution was submitted at this critical time serves to achieve neither the stability of the region nor the unity of the Council. On the contrary, whether we like it or not, it will only intensify the conflagration in our region. Do we really want to see another volcano erupting in this region?

My country, which is not very far away from this area — no more than 200 kilometres from the nuclear reactors — is fully committed to ensuring that the Middle East becomes a nuclear-weapon-free zone. But given the special circumstances surrounding our region, the failure to take on board our concerns and to take account of the issues to which I have just referred will not help us to achieve the unity of the Council to which we all aspire.

Mr. Bolton (United States of America): Four months have passed since the Security Council called upon Iran to fully and verifiably suspend its nuclear programmes, and nearly two months have passed since the European Union three (EU-3) plus three made its generous offer, inviting Iran to enter into negotiations and avoid further Security Council action. Let us not forget that this diplomatic activity was preceded by more than three years of Iranian non-compliance with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and its International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) Safeguards Agreement. Sadly, Iran has consistently and brazenly defied the international community by continuing its pursuit of nuclear weapons, and the continued intransigence and defiance of the Iranian leadership demands a strong response from the Council. The resolution adopted today does just that.

We are pleased that the Council has taken clear and firm action in adopting this resolution. The pursuit of nuclear weapons by Iran constitutes a direct threat to international peace and security and demands a clear statement from the Council in the form of a binding resolution.

This resolution also demands action. It sends an unequivocal and unambiguous message to Tehran: Take the steps required by the IAEA Board of Governors, including full and sustained suspension of all enrichment-related and reprocessing activities, including research and development, and suspend construction of your heavy-water reactor. It also calls upon Member States to prevent the transfer of resources to Iran's nuclear and missile programmes, and Iran should understand that the United States and others will ensure that the financial transactions associated with these proliferation activities will be subject to scrutiny as well. The United States expects that Iran and all other States Members of the United Nations will immediately act in accordance with the mandatory obligations of this resolution.

This is the first Security Council resolution on Iran in response to its nuclear weapons programme, reflecting the gravity of the situation and the determination of the Council. We hope the resolution will demonstrate to Iran that the best way to end its international isolation is to simply give up the pursuit of nuclear weapons. We look forward to Iran's full, unconditional and immediate compliance with the resolution. We hope that Iran makes the strategic decision that the pursuit of programmes of weapons of mass destruction makes it less, not more, secure. We need to be prepared, however, that Iran might choose a different path. That is why it is important that the United States and other member States have expressed their intention to adopt measures under Article 41 in the event that Iran does not comply with the resolution.

In closing, I would like to thank all members of the Council for their efforts in helping us to secure a strong resolution.

Sir Emyr Jones Parry (United Kingdom): Preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is one of the Security Council's vital roles in carrying out its responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. Iran's nuclear activities and its history of concealment raise pressing questions about whether Iran's programme is, as it claims, solely for civil purposes. The United Kingdom commends the continuing investigation of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and is very deeply concerned about Iran's failure to cooperate fully with the Agency. As today's resolution notes, after more than three years, the Agency is still unable to conclude that there are no undeclared nuclear materials or activities in Iran. Important questions, including on activities with a possible military nuclear dimension, remain unanswered.

The international community has shown great patience. We have given Iran many opportunities to show that it has no intention to develop nuclear weapons. Regrettably, Iran has not taken the steps required by the IAEA Board and the Security Council that would help build confidence.

The United Kingdom remains fully committed to working for a negotiated solution. On 6 June, the European Union High Representative, Javier Solana, presented to Iran, on behalf of China, France, Germany, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States, a new set of far-reaching and imaginative proposals for a comprehensive agreement that we would negotiate with Iran. The proposals offer Iran a way forward that would enable a solution based on mutual respect and cooperation. They would give Iran everything it needs to achieve its stated ambition of developing a modern, civil nuclear power industry, including active support in the building of light-water power reactors in Iran, participation in a uranium enrichment facility in Russia and legally binding assurances relating to the supply of nuclear material; address Iran's concern that it should not depend on a single foreign supplier; and provide a substantive package of cooperation in less proliferation-sensitive nuclear research and development. In addition, the proposals would also offer Iran significant political and economic benefits, including a trade and cooperation agreement with the European Union.

When Javier Solana presented those proposals, he made clear that it was essential for Iran to take the steps required by the IAEA Board in its repeated resolutions and by the Security Council in its presidential statement of 29 March. Those include the full suspension of all uranium enrichment-related and reprocessing activities, including research and development, to be verified by the IAEA. For our part, we said that if Iran suspended all enrichment activity, we would be prepared to suspend further action in the Security Council. Suspension will not hinder Iran's development of a modern, civil nuclear power industry in any way, but the continuation of enrichment-related and reprocessing activities, including research and development, would allow Iran to develop the know-how to produce fissile material suitable for use in nuclear weapons. Given the concern about Iran's ambitions, that is not a risk that we can afford to take. Our proposals suggest a procedure for reviewing the moratorium once international confidence in Iran's intentions has been restored.

The United Kingdom is deeply disappointed that Iran has neither given any indication that it is ready to engage seriously on our proposals nor taken the steps needed to allow negotiations to begin. We concluded that there was no alternative but to seek today's resolution, which creates a mandatory obligation on Iran to suspend fully all uranium enrichment-related and reprocessing activities, including research and development, to be verified by the IAEA. A full suspension is required to help build confidence and to create the atmosphere of trust necessary for negotiations. Negotiations cannot succeed if Iran is continuing the activities that are the main source of international concern.

We have adopted a Security Council resolution that makes the IAEA-required suspension mandatory. Should Iran refuse to comply, we will work for the adoption of measures under Article 41 of Chapter VII of the Charter. Should Iran implement the decisions of the IAEA and the Security Council and enter into negotiations, we would be ready to hold back from further action in the Security Council.

We reaffirm that the proposals that were conveyed to Iran by the six countries on 6 June 2006 remain valid. The choice is now for Iran to make. We urge and encourage Iran to take the positive path by implementing the steps required by the IAEA Board and the Security Council and to return to talks on the basis of the ambitious package which we have put forward.

Mr. Churkin (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): The resolution just adopted reflects the view of the Security Council regarding the need for Iran to establish full, transparent cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) so as to clarify outstanding questions regarding its nuclear activities and restore confidence in its nuclear programme. The main goal of the resolution is to support the efforts of the IAEA to resolve Iran's nuclear problems. The Agency possesses all the necessary capacity to that end and should continue to play a central role in resolving non-proliferation issues in the context of Iran's nuclear programme. We hope that, with the support of the Security Council in the form of today's resolution, it will be easier for the IAEA to do that job.

By acting under Article 40 of the Charter, the resolution makes mandatory the demand of the IAEA regarding Tehran's suspension of all uranium enrichment and reprocessing activities. If Iran does not comply with the provisions of the resolution, members of the Security Council have expressed the intention to take appropriate action under Article 41 of Chapter VII Charter. It is crucial that, as follows unambiguously from the resolution, any additional measures that could be required in the future in order to implement the resolution rule out the use of military force. The suspension by Iran of all enrichment and reprocessing activities, which is called for in the resolution, is not a goal in itself. It should help to clarify outstanding issues with regard to the nuclear activities of Iran and to restore trust in its nuclear programme. Thus, this measure, in accordance with Article 40 of the Charter, should be viewed as an interim measure during the period necessary for resolving the issue. If Iran, as we hope, complies with the Security Council resolution and the demands of the IAEA and enters into negotiations, members of the Security Council would be prepared to refrain from any further action in this context. We believe that, if negotiations yield a positive — solution to the problem in terms of the implementation of the demands of the IAEA, then no additional action against Iran would be taken in the Security Council.

It is important that the resolution has a provision that opens the door for Tehran's establishment of broad international cooperation to meet Iran's energy requirements on the basis of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. We reaffirm the proposals that were transmitted to Iran by the six countries on 6 June 2006. We hope that Tehran will properly and seriously view the contents of this resolution and will take the necessary steps to redress the situation regarding Iran's nuclear programme. We call upon Teheran to respond positively to the proposals of the six countries.

Mr. Liu Zhenmin (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): Since the beginning of this year, the Iran nuclear issue has attracted increasing international attention. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has conveyed to the Security Council a number of reports and resolutions related to the Iran nuclear issue.

China has all along indicated that purpose of the Security Council reviewing this issue is to safeguard the international nuclear non-proliferation mechanism, strengthen the authority and role of the IAEA, support the endeavours of the IAEA Director General and his team to clarify the outstanding issues relating to Iran's nuclear programme, promote diplomatic efforts and resolutely commit itself to finding an appropriate solution to this issue through political and diplomatic means.

In line with that purpose, the Security Council issued a Presidential statement on 29 March 2006 (S/PRST/2006/15) and has just adopted a resolution. Regrettably, the Iranian side has yet to respond positively to the requests of the IAEA Board of Governors and the calls of the Security Council. The resolution adopted today explicitly demands that Iran suspend all enrichment-related and reprocessing activities. It has expressed the intention that, in the event that Iran fails to comply with the resolution, the Security Council will work to adopt appropriate measures under Article 41 of the United Nations Charter to persuade Iran to comply with the resolution and the requirements of the IAEA. On the other hand, in the event that Iran fulfils the aforementioned obligation and returns to the negotiations table, it will not be necessary for the Security Council to adopt additional measures.

This resolution stresses in many of its paragraphs the importance of finding a negotiated solution through political and diplomatic efforts. It underlines the irreplaceable key role of the IAEA in handling this issue. It endorses the package of proposals put forward by China, France, Germany, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States in early June. It also emphasizes that these proposals constitute an important

effort for a comprehensive arrangement which would allow for the development of bilateral relations and cooperation based on mutual respect and the establishment of international confidence in the exclusively peaceful nature of Iran's nuclear programme.

The fact that an appropriate solution to the Iran nuclear issue is late in coming is due to lack of trust among the main parties involved. It needs to be emphasized that, whether it is now or in the future, the Security Council cannot handle this issue single-handedly. Dialogue and negotiations are the only way out. The IAEA should always be the main mechanism for dealing with this issue. The solution requires all-around diplomatic efforts; any measures adopted by the Security Council should serve the purpose of diplomatic efforts.

According to Article 25 of the United Nations Charter, all United Nations Member States are obliged to accept and carry out Security Council resolutions. In the current circumstances, China urges Iran to practice restraint, attach importance to the extensive appeals and expectations of the international community, earnestly implement the requirements of this resolution and make early response to the package of proposals, so as to create conditions for increasing trust and promoting dialogue and negotiations.

We also wish to call upon all the other parties to adopt a highly responsible attitude towards world peace, security and stability and the international nuclear non-proliferation mechanism, and to remain confident and calm, practice restraint, explore new ways of thinking and continue to creatively carry out diplomatic efforts for the settlement of the Iran nuclear issue. We welcome any ideas and efforts conducive to conducting talks, breaking the stalemate and reaching compromises.

During this sensitive period, it is essential for Iran and all the other parties concerned not to take any steps that will harm the aforementioned diplomatic efforts and that may lead to complications or even loss of control. We call upon all the parties to resume dialogue and negotiations as soon as possible for the proper solution of the Iran nuclear issue.

China will, as always, continue its efforts to help to maintain world and regional peace and stability, safeguard and strengthen the international non-proliferation mechanism and enhance political and diplomatic efforts for the solution of the Iran nuclear issue.

Mr. Manongi (United Republic of Tanzania): The United Republic of Tanzania voted in favour of the resolution we have just adopted. We voted thus while regretting the failure of diplomatic efforts intended to engage the Islamic Republic of Iran and to achieve a suitable outcome that would have protected the right of Iran to pursue peaceful nuclear activities.

As a matter of principle, the United Republic of Tanzania is opposed to nuclear weapons, whether held by friend or by foe. We are therefore opposed to nuclear proliferation and strongly support the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the non-proliferation regime it establishes under the auspices of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), to which the Islamic Republic of Iran also subscribes.

The United Republic of Tanzania firmly believes in the right of the people of Iran to civilian nuclear energy. This resolution does not in any way seek to constrain that right. However, it seeks to bring any such programme under a verifiable inspection regime of the IAEA. In our view, that is as it ought to be.

The United Republic of Tanzania is mindful that the Islamic Republic of Iran had offered to respond by 22 August 2006 to the package of proposals presented by the Permanent Five plus one. We regret that that Isranian offer was not accommodated. We hope, however, that the willingness for dialogue that was demonstrated by that offer can still be reciprocated. In our view, engaging the Islamic Republic of Iran needs to be continued by all the parties, including the IAEA.

The United Republic of Tanzania also voted in favour of the resolution essentially because it precludes the use of force as an option in engaging the Islamic Republic of Iran. It is our hope that, even in the resolution's current form, additional measures will be unnecessary.

In conclusion, it is also the hope of the United Republic of Tanzania that the adoption of today's resolution at this point in time will not serve to further complicate matters in an already volatile region.

Mr. Oshima (Japan): The Japanese delegation views the resolution just adopted as a balanced text. Its adoption represents endorsement by the broad international community of the efforts by France, Germany and the United Kingdom (the EU-3) and

other partners to achieve non-proliferation in a vital region of the world. Japan appreciates the efforts of the EU-3 to work out the package that was presented to Iran in early June and to undertake the subsequent dialogue with the Iranian authorities.

Japan believes that the important issue of non-proliferation should be resolved through diplomatic and peaceful means. The adoption of today's resolution constitutes, in our view, a path of such diplomatic efforts. Japan sincerely and earnestly hopes and expects that Iran will take seriously the message from the Security Council as formulated in the resolution and respond positively to it within the defined timeline.

Japan — as a country that has traditionally had a close, friendly, important and wide-ranging relationship with Iran, and as a country deeply committed to nuclear non-proliferation and to the non-proliferation of other weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery — has undertaken its own diplomatic initiative with the Iranian authorities towards the peaceful resolution of this issue. Japan is committed to continuing to make its own efforts to contribute to the resolution of the issue through continuous dialogue and engagement with Iran.

Mr. Mayoral (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): Argentina voted in favour of today's resolution bearing in mind that the text adopted reaffirms the right of every State signatory of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, in conformity with articles I and II of the Treaty, to develop research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without discrimination.

Furthermore, my delegation earnestly hopes that a diplomatic solution negotiated with the Government of Iran will be achieved. That is why we call on the parties involved to resume the dialogue in order to find a solution within the framework of arrangement, with the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency and by the Security Council with regard to the Iran nuclear issue.

The President (*spoke in French*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of France.

Resolution 1696 (2006), which the Security Council has just adopted, was made necessary by the fact that Iran, despite three meetings between Mr. Javier Solana and Mr. Ali Larijani, has shown no willingness to seriously discuss the substance of the proposals made on 6 June on behalf of China, France, Germany, the Russian Federation, the Russian Federation and the United States. Under such conditions, the six countries had no choice but to resume the activity that had been suspended in the Security Council. We welcome the international community's support, through this vote, for the efforts of our countries.

France — in a position shared by Germany, which co-sponsored the text — emphasizes the following elements.

The resolution that we have just adopted makes mandatory the suspension requested by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); it does not mean an end to negotiations. We reaffirm the proposals made to Iran on 6 June by our six countries. If Iran should refuse to comply with the resolution, we will then work to adopt measures under Article 41 of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. If Iran should implement the decisions of the IAEA and the Security Council and enter into negotiations, we will be prepared to abstain from further action in the Council.

Once again, we appeal to Iran to respond positively to the substantive proposals that we made last month.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

I give the floor to the representative of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Mr. Zarif (Islamic Republic of Iran): In my letter of 28 July 2006 addressed to the President of the Security Council, I requested an opportunity to speak before the Council took action so that the Council would be apprised — for the first time, I might add — of the views of the concerned party before it adopted a decision. Members may recall that my previous request to speak before the Council, when it adopted its presidential statement on 29 March, was also denied. It is indeed indicative of the degree of the Council's transparency and fairness that it has adopted a presidential statement and a resolution without even allowing the views of the concerned party to be heard.

Be that as it may, I will make — for the record, I presume — the statement that was intended for presentation before action. Before I do so, however,

allow me to express our profound appreciation to our neighbour Qatar for its negative vote based on its position of principle as well as its legitimate concern for the stability of our region.

This is not the first time that Iran's endeavours to stand on its own feet and make technological advances have faced stiff resistance and concerted pressure from some Powers permanently represented in the Security Council. In fact, contemporary Iran has been subjected to numerous injustices and prejudicial approaches by those Powers. In a draft resolution submitted on 12 October 1951 by the United Kingdom and supported in the Council by the United States and France, the Iranian people's struggle to nationalize their oil industry was touted as a threat to international peace and security. That draft resolution preceded a coup d'état organized by the United States and the United Kingdom in a less-veiled attempt to restore their short-sighted interests. The coup, which was obviously no longer disguisable in the language of the Charter or by diplomatic subterfuge, restored the brutal dictatorship. The people of Iran nevertheless succeeded in nationalizing the oil industry, thus pioneering a courageous movement in the developing world to demand their inalienable right to exercise sovereignty over their natural resources.

More recently, Saddam Hussein's aggression against the Islamic Republic of Iran on 22 September 1980 and his swift advance to occupy 30,000 square kilometres of Iranian territory did not trouble the same permanent members of the Security Council enough to make them consider it a threat to international peace and security or even to make the routine call for a ceasefire and withdrawal. I wonder if I can still call it a "routine call" these days. Nor did they find it necessary even to adopt a resolution for seven long days after the aggression, hoping that their generally held, utter miscalculation that Saddam could put an end to the Islamic Republic within a week would be realized.

Sounds familiar these days, does it not?

Even then, and for the following two long years, they did not deem fit to call for a withdrawal of the invading forces. The first Security Council resolution calling for withdrawal came in July 1982, only after the Iranian people had already single-handedly liberated their territory against all odds. Nor was this Council allowed for several long years, and in spite of mounting evidence and United Nations reports, to deal with the use of chemical weapons by the former Iraqi dictator against Iranian civilians and military personnel because, as a former United States Defense Intelligence Agency official told the *New York Times*, "The Pentagon was not so horrified by Iraq's use of gas... It was just another way of killing people." Just another way. Some 20 years later, tens of thousands of Iranians continue to suffer and die from that "just another way".

Over the past several weeks, this body has been prevented from moving to stop the massive aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and the resulting terrible humanitarian crisis. Diplomatic words fail to describe the way the massacre in Qana was addressed yesterday. Nor is the Council given the slightest chance of addressing the aggressor's nuclear arsenal, despite its compulsive propensity to engage in aggression and carnage.

Likewise, the Security Council has been prevented from reacting to the daily threats of resort to force against Iran, even threats of using nuclear weapons uttered at the highest levels by representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom and the lawless Israeli regime, in violation of Article 2 (4) of the Charter.

On the other hand, over the past few years, a few big Powers have spared no effort in turning the Security Council, or the threat of resorting to it, into a tool for attempting to prevent Iran from exercising its inalienable right to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes, recognized explicitly under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The intention to use the Council only as a tool for that or even more dangerous ends could not have been made clearer than in the statement by the permanent representative of the United States at the meeting of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee on 5 March this year:

> "It is critical that we use the Council to help mobilize international public opinion. Rest assured, though, we are not relying on the Security Council as the only tool in our toolbox to address this problem."

The people and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran are determined to exercise their inalienable right to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes and to build on their own scientific advances in developing various peaceful aspects of that technology. At the same time, as the only victims of the use of weapons of mass destruction in recent history,

they reject the development and use of all those inhuman weapons on ideological as well as strategic grounds. The leader of the Islamic Republic has issued a public and categorical religious decree against the development, production, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons.

Iran has also clearly and continuously stressed that nuclear weapons have no place in its military doctrine. The President of the Islamic Republic of Iran, in his statement before the General Assembly last September, also underlined Iran's fundamental rejection of nuclear weapons, as well as the need to strengthen and revitalize the non-proliferation Treaty. He also stressed that "continued interaction and technical and legal cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency will be the centerpiece of our nuclear policy" (*A/60/PV.10, p.8*).

In order to dispel any doubt about our peaceful nuclear programme, we enabled the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to carry out a series of inspections that amounts to the most robust inspection of any IAEA member State. It included more than 2,000 inspector-days of scrutiny over the past three years; the signing of the Additional Protocol on 18 December 2003 and its immediate implementation until 6 February 2006; the submission of more than 1,000 pages of declaration under the Additional Protocol; allowing over 53 instances of complementary access to different sites across the country; and permitting inspectors to investigate baseless allegations by taking the unprecedented step of providing repeated access to military sites.

Consequently, all reports of the IAEA since November 2003 have been indicative of the peaceful nature of the Iranian nuclear programme. In November 2003 and in the wake of sensational media reports on the so-called 18-years of concealment by Iran, the Agency confirmed that "[t]o date, there is no evidence that the previously undeclared nuclear material and activities... were related to a nuclear weapons programme" (*GOV/2003/75, para. 52*). We all remember how that statement was received by the United States Under-Secretary of State of the time.

The same conclusion can be found in other IAEA reports, even as recently as that of February 2006, which states that, "[a]s indicated to the Board in November 2004, and again in September 2005, all the declared nuclear material in Iran has been accounted for" (*GOV/2006/15, para. 53*). The Agency reaffirmed once again in paragraph 53 of the same report that it "has not seen any diversion of nuclear material to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices" (*ibid.*).

Much has been made, including in today's resolution, of a statement by the IAEA that it is not yet in a position "to conclude that there are no undeclared nuclear materials or activities in Iran" (*GOV/2005/67, para.* 51). But the sponsors have conveniently ignored the repeated acknowledgment by the Director-General of the IAEA that "the process of drawing such a conclusion... is a time consuming process" (*ibid.*). They also ignored the addendum to the 2005 IAEA safeguards implementation report, released in June 2006, which indicates that 45 other countries are in the same category as Iran, including 14 Europeans and several members of this Council. I might add that, out of three sponsors of today's resolution, two are obviously in the privileged class, self-immunized from any scrutiny, but the third is in the same category as Iran.

Iran's peaceful nuclear programme poses no threat to international peace and security, and therefore dealing with that issue in the Security Council is unwarranted and void of any legal basis or practical utility. Far from reflecting, as advertised, the concerns of the international community, the approach of the sponsors flouts the stated position of the overwhelming majority of the international community, clearly reflected in the most recent statements by the foreign ministers of the Non-Aligned Movement and of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), and partly reflected in the June 2006 IAEA Board Chairman's conclusion.

The 57 members of the OIC, in their recent ministerial meeting in Baku, expressed their "conviction that the only way to resolve Iran's nuclear issue is to resume negotiations without preconditions" (*A/60/915, annex, enclosure 2, para. 12*). They welcomed "the readiness of the Islamic Republic of Iran to settle all remaining outstanding issues peacefully"; recognized that "any attempt aimed at limiting the application of peaceful uses of nuclear energy would affect the sustainable development of developing countries"; rejected "discrimination and double standards in peaceful uses of nuclear energy"; and, finally, expresssed

"concern over any unwanted consequences on the peace and security of the region and beyond of threats and pressures on Iran by certain circles to renounce its inalienable right to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes".

The Non-Aligned Movement, comprising an overwhelming majority of the Members of the Organization, in the recent statement of its ministers, meeting in Putrajaya, "stressed that there should be no undue pressure or interference in the Agency's activities, especially its verification process, which would jeopardize the efficiency and credibility of the Agency" and that "nothing should be interpreted in a way as inhibiting or restricting this right of States to develop atomic energy for peaceful purposes". They also reaffirmed that "States' choices and decisions in the field of peaceful uses of nuclear technology and its fuel-cycle policies must be respected".

But, claiming to represent the international community itself, the European Union three (EU-3), in their so-called package of incentives last August, asked Iran to "make a binding commitment not to pursue fuel cycle activities" (*IAEA information circular INFCIRC/651, attachment, para. 34*). A cursory look at the chronology of events since last August indicates that Iran's rejection of that illegal and unwarranted demand has been, and continues to be, the sole reason for the imposition of resolutions and statements on the Board of the International Atomic Energy Agency and on the Security Council. Today's proposed action by the Council — which is the culmination of those efforts aimed at making the suspension of uranium enrichment mandatory — violates the fundamental principles of international law, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and IAEA Board resolutions. It also runs counter to the views of the majority of Member States, which the Security Council is obliged to represent.

The IAEA Board, in its November 2004 resolution, ironically drafted by the very same sponsors of today's resolution, declared that suspension "is a voluntary, non-legally binding, confidence-building measure". That was repeated as recently as 15 June 2006, in the IAEA Board Chairman's conclusion.

The Non-Aligned Movement, in its recent ministerial statement referred to earlier, stressed "the fundamental distinction between the legal obligations of States to their respective safeguards agreements and any confidence-building measures voluntarily undertaken to resolve difficult issues" and "that such voluntary undertakings are not legal safeguards obligations".

The sole reason for pushing the Council to take action, as highlighted in the resolution, is that Iran decided, after over two years of negotiations, to resume the exercise of its inalienable right to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes by partially reopening its fully safeguarded facilities and ending a voluntary suspension. Iran's right to enrich uranium is recognized under the NPT. Upholding the rights of States parties to international treaties is as essential as ensuring respect for their obligations. Those regimes, including the NPT, are sustained by a balance between rights and obligations. Threats will not sustain the NPT or other international regimes; ensuring that members can draw rightful benefits from membership, and that non-members are not rewarded for their intransigence, will.

Yet, exactly the opposite is the trend today. Today we are witness to an extremely dangerous trend. While members of the NPT are denied their rights and are punished, those who defy the NPT, particularly the perpetrators of the current carnage in Lebanon and Palestine, are rewarded with generous nuclear cooperation agreements. This goes so far that, when it suits the United States, even the acquisition of nuclear weapons by non-NPT members becomes "legitimate", to quote the United States Ambassador. That is one awkward way to strengthen the NPT or ensure its universality.

That trend has reached such a horrendous, and indeed ridiculous, state that the Israeli regime — a non-member of the NPT, whose nuclear arsenal, coupled with its expansionist, repressive and State-terror policies and behaviour are repeatedly recognized, including by NPT Review Conferences, as the single most serious threat to regional and international peace and security — finds the audacity to cry wolf about Iran's peaceful nuclear programme and to lead a global campaign of threats, lies, deception, pressure, blackmail and outright extortion. Yet, in spite of the massive political and propaganda machine, no one in today's world can accept the convoluted logic that it is okay for some to have nuclear weapons while others are prevented from developing nuclear energy.

Another destructive trend is the imposition of arbitrary thresholds, which are often a function of bilateral considerations rather than objective or technical criteria. It should be interesting to recall that the United States began by trying to deny Iran any kind of nuclear activity. Even as late as 31 January 2003, the State Department spokesman was saying that "we have consistently urged Russia to cease all such cooperation with Iran, including its assistance to the light water reactor at Bushehr".

The new threshold regarding enrichment is as arbitrary as the previous ones, and is simply another excuse to begin a trend to prevent the realization of the rights of the members of the NPT to peaceful use while, according to the United States Ambassador, non-members could legitimately continue producing nuclear bombs.

It has been argued that intervention by the Security Council is needed to ensure cooperation by Iran with the Agency and to bring Iran back to the negotiating table. I suggest that Security Council involvement is not needed to achieve that goal. In fact, involvement by the Council hinders rather than helps this ongoing process, because it is designed as an instrument of pressure.

As I indicated earlier, Iran's cooperation with the Agency was far more extensive and comprehensive before action was imposed on the IAEA Board to engage the Security Council. That cooperation enabled the Agency to conclude, last September, that good progress had been made "in the Agency's ability to confirm certain aspects of Iran's current declarations, which will be followed up as a routine safeguards implementation matter" *(IAEA document GOV/2005/67, para. 43)*.

As for returning to the negotiating table, Iran has always been ready for negotiations. For almost three years, Iran tried to sustain, and even to resuscitate, negotiations with the EU-3. Iran offered far-reaching proposals to address concerns as well as to usher in a new era of cooperation: in August 2004, in January 2005, in March 2005, in April 2005, in July 2005, in September 2005, in January 2006, in February 2006 and in March 2006. Throughout that period, Iran adopted extensive and extremely costly confidence-building measures, including the suspension of its rightful enrichment activities for two years, to ensure the success of those negotiations. All along, it has been the persistence of some in drawing arbitrary red lines and deadlines that has closed the door to any compromise. This tendency has single-handedly blocked success and in most cases killed proposals in their infancy. This has been Washington's persistent strategy ever since Iran and the EU-3 started their negotiations in October 2003. Only the tactics have changed.

All along, the threats by some to bring this issue before the Council and to take it out of its proper technical and negotiated structure have loomed large over the negotiations and have impeded progress, derailed discussions and prevented focus on a mutually acceptable resolution. The manner in which negotiations over the recently proposed package have been conducted is a further indication of the same propensity to resort to threats and the lack of genuine will to reach a mutually acceptable resolution.

Iran, publicly and in a show of good faith, reacted positively to this initiative and indicated its readiness to engage in fair, non-discriminatory and result-oriented negotiations about the package within a mutually agreed time frame and without preconditions. Yet, an arbitrary deadline was set, ex post facto, without any justification and only to serve the totally ulterior objective of maximizing pressure.

Indeed, it is informative to note that it took the EU-3 nearly five months, from March to August 2005, to consider a very serious proposal made by Iran last year. And even then the EU-3 came up with a response that did not address any elements of that proposal. And yet, while the Islamic Republic of Iran has clearly stated that it requires three more weeks to conclude its evaluation of the proposed package and come up with a substantive reaction, it is astonishing — and indeed telling — to see that the EU-3 and the United States are in such a rush to prematurely hamper the path of negotiations by imposing a destructive and totally unwarranted Security Council resolution. This rush becomes even more suspect if one takes into account repeated statements of the Director-General of the IAEA, numerous United States experts and even the United States intelligence community about the absence of any urgency.

Compare this rush to the fact that some of the very same Powers have for the past three weeks prevented any action — not even a 72-hour humanitarian truce — by the Security Council on the

urgent situation in Lebanon, which has been officially and publicly interpreted by the aggressors as a green light to continue their onslaught, unfortunately including the recent carnage in Qana. Security Council members can be the judge of how much credibility this leaves for the Council. Millions of people around the world have already passed their judgement.

So, it is pertinent to ask: What is the motive behind this long-standing urge of some permanent members to bring Iran before the Security Council? And what is the current rush? Is it anything but pressure and coercion? I would suggest that this approach will not lead to any productive outcome and that in fact it can only exacerbate the situation. The people and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran are not seeking confrontation and have always shown their readiness to engage in serious and result-oriented negotiations based on mutual respect and on an equal footing. They have also shown, time and again, their resilience in the face of pressure, threat, injustice and imposition.

The President (*spoke in French*): There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 11.25 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.5501

Security Council

Sixty-first year

Provisional

5501st meeting

Monday, 31 July 2006, 11.30 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. De La Sablière	(France)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Mayoral
	China	Mr. Liu Zhenmin
	Congo	Mr. Ikouebe
	Denmark	Ms. Løj
	Ghana	Nana Effah-Apenteng
	Greece	Mr. Vassilakis
	Japan	Mr. Oshima
	Peru	Mr. Pereyra Plasencia
	Qatar	Mr. Al-Nasser
	Russian Federation	Mr. Churkin
	Slovakia	Mr. Mlynár
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Manongi
	United States of America	Mr. Bolton

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (S/2006/560)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

06-44970 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 11.30 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (S/2006/560)

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, document S/2006/560.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/2006/583, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by France.

I should also like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to documents S/2006/575, S/2006/565, S/2006/550, S/2006/537, S/2006/536, S/2006/531, S/2006/522, S/2006/518 and S/2006/496, containing letters from Lebanon; and document S/2006/515, containing a letter from Israel.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, China, Congo, Denmark, France, Ghana, Greece, Japan, Peru, Qatar, Russian Federation, Slovakia, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America

The President (*spoke in French*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1697 (2006).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 11.35 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.5502

Security Council

Sixty-first year

Provisional

5502nd meeting

Monday, 31 July 2006, 11.35 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. De La Sablière	(France)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Mayoral
	China	Mr. Liu Zhenmin
	Congo	Mr. Ikouebe
	Denmark	Ms. Løj
	Ghana	Nana Effah-Apenteng
	Greece	Mr. Vassilakis
	Japan	Mr. Oshima
	Peru	Mr. Pereyra Plasencia
	Qatar	Mr. Al-Nasser
	Russian Federation	Mr. Churkin
	Slovakia	Mr. Mlynár
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Manongi
	United States of America	Mr. Bolton

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Letter dated 18 July 2006 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1533 (2004) concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2006/525)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

06-44977 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 11.35 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Letter dated 18 July 2006 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1533 (2004) concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2006/525)

The President (*spoke in French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in which he requests to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the consideration of the item without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ileka (Democratic Republic of the Congo) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2006/585, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations. Members of the Council also have before them the reports of the Group of Experts, contained in documents S/2006/53 and S/2006/525.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, contained in document S/2006/389, and the report of the Security Council mission on the electoral process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, contained in document S/2006/434.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, China, Congo, Denmark, France, Ghana, Greece, Japan, Peru, Qatar, Russian Federation, Slovakia, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America

The President (*spoke in French*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1698 (2006).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Council will remain seized of the matter.

I now invite members to consultations following the conclusion of the meeting.

The meeting rose at 11.40 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.5503

Security Council

Sixty-first year

Provisional

5503rd meeting

Monday, 31 July 2006, 3 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. De La Sablière	(France)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Mayoral
	China	Mr. Liu Zhenmin
	Congo	Mr. Ikouebe
	Denmark	Ms. Løj
	Ghana	Nana Effah-Apenteng
	Greece	Mr. Vassilakis
	Japan	Mr. Oshima
	Peru	Mr. Pereyra Plasencia
	Qatar	Mr. Al-Nasser
	Russian Federation	Mr. Churkin
	Slovakia	Mr. Mlynár
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Manongi
	United States of America	Mr. Bolton

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East

Letter dated 31 July 2006 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2006/596)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

06-45042 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East

Letter dated 31 July 2006 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Lebanon to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2006/596)

The President (*spoke in French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Israel and Lebanon, in which they request to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the consideration of the item, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Gillerman (Israel) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in French*): On behalf of the members of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to His Excellency Mr. Tarek Mitri, Minister of Culture and acting Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lebanon.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mitri (Lebanon) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting pursuant to the request contained in the letter dated 31 July 2006 from the Chargé d'affaires ad interim of the Permanent Mission of Lebanon to the United Nations which will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/2006/596.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Tarek Mitri, Minister of Culture and acting Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lebanon.

Mr. Mitri (Lebanon): I have come from Beirut bearing images of horror and sounds of grief, as well as both the anger and the hope of my people. I trust that members of the Council will not see images of what we have seen and turn away, or hear what we have heard and close their ears.

Let me start with a word of appreciation for all the efforts that led to the presidential statement of yesterday (S/PRST/2006/35). I would like to commend your own efforts, Mr. President, but also those of the Secretary-General, whom I join in affirming that the authority and the standing of the Security Council are at stake.

While appreciating the efforts of yesterday, I have come here to reiterate forcefully the call of the Lebanese Government for an immediate and comprehensive ceasefire. The onslaught continues unabated. It has to stop.

I have also come to ask for the setting in motion of a process of international investigation with regard to the crime of Qana, Qana the second, where a massacre had taken place in 1996. I am sure that many of us — since many of us here are people of memory — will remember the massacre in 1996 during Operation Grapes of Wrath.

I think that by now, the facts are known to all of us. Dozens of elderly people, disabled people, children and women were sheltering in the basement of an unfinished house. An Israeli jet dropped two bombs, killing 62 persons, including 35 children, who were buried under the rubble.

I left my country mourning and crying out against what all Lebanese — not most Lebanese, I would say, but all Lebanese — perceive to be an unjustified collective punishment — and no collective punishment is justified — that is being imposed on the civilian population. The spilled blood of the children in Qana deserves more, much more, than expressions of regret.

Allow me to say that some of us are tired of listening to a kind of self-righteous discourse about self-defence. We have heard ad nauseam that in wars, mistakes are committed. Indeed. But how many mistakes did Israel commit against my people in 1969, in 1978, in 1982, in 1993, in 1996 and in 1999, and how many mistakes is it committing now? When mistakes are a pattern of behaviour, they deserve another name: they qualify as crimes.

All of us have heard again and again and again the justification given that fighters are in the midst of the civilian population. Let me not argue about that

justification, except to say that it is a blatant violation of international law. Protocol I, of 1977, to the Geneva Conventions states unequivocally in its article 50:

> "The presence within the civilian population of individuals who do not come within the definition of civilians does not deprive the population of its civilian character."

The massacre of Qana is a crime against civilians, no matter what the pretexts are, no matter what justifications are given.

The killing must stop. We have seen previous Israeli aggressions against Lebanon. I think that all members of the Security Council are aware that none of those aggressions achieved their stated aim. The aggression of today should be the end.

Returning to the status quo ante would be futile. And it is because of that that, in the name of the people of Lebanon, I call upon all Security Council members to assist us in putting an end to this human tragedy. The Government of Lebanon firmly believes that that can be achieved in the following manner.

Here, I shall read out a text that was approved by the Council of Ministers, calling for

> "... an immediate and comprehensive ceasefire and a declaration of agreement on the following issues:
>
> "An undertaking to release the Lebanese and Israeli prisoners and detainees through the International Committee of the Red Cross;
>
> "Withdrawal of the Israeli army to behind the Blue Line, and the return of the displaced to their villages;
>
> "A commitment from the Security Council to place the Sheba'a farms and the Kafr Shuba hills under United Nations jurisdiction until border delineation and Lebanese sovereignty over them are fully settled. While in United Nations custody, the area will be accessible to Lebanese property owners there. Further, Israel will surrender all remaining landmine maps in south Lebanon to the United Nations;
>
> "The Lebanese Government will extend its authority over its territory through its own legitimate armed forces, such that there will be no weapons or authority other than that of the Lebanese State, as stipulated in the Taif national reconciliation accord;
>
> "The United Nations international force operating in south Lebanon will be supplemented and enhanced in numbers, equipment, mandate and scope of operations as needed in order to undertake urgent humanitarian and relief work and guarantee stability and security in the south so that those who fled their homes can return;
>
> "The United Nations, in cooperation with the relevant parties, will undertake the necessary measures to once again put into effect the Armistice Agreement signed by Lebanon and Israel in 1949 and to ensure adherence to the provisions of that Agreement as well as to explore amendments to, or development of, said provisions as necessary; and
>
> "The international community will commit to support Lebanon on all levels and to assist it in facing the tremendous burden resulting from the human, social and economic tragedy which has afflicted our country, especially in the areas of relief, reconstruction and the rebuilding of the national economy."

I believe that members will agree with me that we owe our people an honourable way out of this war. We owe our people a solution, with the Council's support, that will not allow further destruction and that will help us rebuild our nation — a nation that we have been rebuilding and reconstructing, especially during the past year.

Lebanon, we are often told, has some significance and importance in itself and for itself, for what it represents, for what it is: a country of plurality, diversity and tolerance. Therefore, let it not be the battleground for any war that serves the interests of others. Let not Lebanon be the battleground of the wars of others.

I have come to the Security Council on behalf of the Lebanese Government, hoping to be heard. I have come to cry out loud our nation's right to live and our nation's right to live in dignity. We shall not compromise our just cause as, in a moment like this, we reaffirm our unity as a nation. The Lebanese people, amidst tragedies such as that we saw yesterday, are more united than ever. In that unity, we trust that wars can be overcome. Our country has overcome

many wars and much destruction over the years that I have mentioned, in years prior to that, and over the ages. We shall rise up again.

Let that be the Council's choice, too. It should not allow war, desolation and hatred to prevail.

The President (*spoke in French*): I call on the representative of Israel.

Mr. Gillerman (Israel): As this is your last day as President, Sir, may I express to you once again our appreciation for your very able and fair stewardship during the month of July.

We have heard a very emotional, very eloquent and, I am sure, very candid speech by the representative of Lebanon. I would like to repeat some of the words he said, which I agree with completely and which Israel agrees with completely.

He started by saying that he has come here both in anger and in hope. He continued by saying that we should not return and there should not be a return to the status quo ante. He also said that Lebanon is a country of plurality, diversity and tolerance. He also stated that Lebanon should not and should never again be the battleground of others. He reiterated Lebanon's wish, dream and right to live in dignity, and he repeated that several times.

I want to state emphatically that I agree with each and every one of those statements. Israel has no quarrel with Lebanon. Israel has no battle with Lebanon. Israel has no war with Lebanon.

The Minister repeatedly cited Israel's previous actions against Lebanon. He failed to state why those actions were taken. Israel has never, ever had in its history any claim over Lebanon, neither over its sovereignty nor over its territory nor over its right to exist in our region as a free, vibrant, proud and prosperous State. Israel has repeatedly been compelled to act not against Lebanon, but against the forces and the monstrosity which Lebanon has allowed itself to be taken hostage by. Lebanon has repeatedly, sadly and tragically been taken over time and time again by tyrants in the North — namely, Syria, which still regards Lebanon as Southern Syria, which has never marked its border with Lebanon and which has never even had an embassy in Beirut or allowed Lebanon to have an embassy in Damascus. Lebanon has allowed itself to be taken hostage by terrorists of the worst kind — the Palestine Liberation Organization in the 1980s and Hizbollah in the 1990s.

I ask the Minister in all candidness and in all fairness: When will Lebanon finally take its fate into its own hands? A litany of tragedies and misery does not make for either policy or good politics. Lebanon had several chances to be sovereign, to exert its sovereignty, and to take its fate into its own hands, at least in the past few years. It had one chance over six years ago, when Israel left it completely — a fact that has been ratified by this Council, and in terms of resolution 425 (1978). Lebanon could have made the choice of returning to being the vibrant, beautiful, fun-loving, entrepreneurial and cultured country it was, or of allowing itself to become a hub for terrorism and a launching pad against Israel. Sadly, and tragically for Israel, for the region and for the Lebanese, it chose the latter.

Lebanon had the chance once again after this Council, dramatically and practically without precedent, adopted resolution 1559 (2004) and made the Syrians leave Lebanon, at least partially. Again, there was a chance for Lebanon to exert its sovereignty, to deploy its forces and to rid itself of that monster which it has allowed to take over and to hold it hostage. Once again, Lebanon did not do it.

Why is Israel in Lebanon today? Why is Israel acting against Lebanon? Israel left every single inch of Lebanon. Israel is there only to protect itself against a blatant act of war, the kidnapping of its soldiers and the shelling of its cities and its towns by thousands of rockets, which are only a fraction of the arsenal of death and destruction that Lebanon has allowed to be amassed in the southern part of its territory. Is it not time that Lebanon took its fate into its own hands, rather than keep crying out to the Security Council and to the international community? Is it not time that the Lebanese army, which is there, acted in order to rid itself of the very beast which is bringing this horror and this destruction upon its people?

I truly believe that it is time for Lebanon to act, if for no other reason than at least to prove that it is untrue that, in Lebanon, there is no future and no present — only the past, happening over and over and over again.

The President (*spoke in French*): I give the floor to the representative of Lebanon, who has asked to speak again.

Mr. Mitri (Lebanon): I only want to say that violence has history. There is a genealogy of violence. Injustice breeds violence and violence breeds violence. I cannot but think about some of those children or young people who lost their dear ones in Qana in the massacre of 1996 and who may be tempted to take up arms today. Violence is not an act in one moment of history; violence participates in a cycle and a process, and it is precisely that cycle that we would like to put an end to.

My Government has offered a political framework. I do not think we are ready to hear sermons about what we need to do. We are a Government that has spared no effort with regard to national dialogue and a political process to arrive at a situation in which the State — the central authority — can extend its sovereignty over all its national territory. However, we know that we need the support of the international community, political and otherwise, to achieve that.

I would also like to mention that the conference in Rome, which brought together many States that support or would like to support Lebanon in every respect, issued a presidential statement that referred to Security Council resolution 425 (1978). Implicit in that reference was the fact that resolution 425 (1978) is yet to be implemented fully. We have stated that we need to have the Sheba'a farms returned to us, the release of Lebanese prisoners from Israeli prisons and maps of the landmines in southern Lebanon, which to date we have not received.

Breaking the cycle of violence requires political courage. For our part, we are sparing no effort to open our ears, minds and hearts to constructive proposals, but the points that our Council of Ministers has elaborated unanimously constitute the basis for any political framework to put an end to the present tragic situation. We have come here to reaffirm that a political settlement will bring an end to the violence, but what should precede a political settlement — anywhere in the world, not just in Lebanon — is a ceasefire. No political settlement can be reached while our towns, villages, bridges, houses and shelters are being severely bombarded. A ceasefire is a prelude and a necessary condition for a discussion in the Council of the terms of a political agreement that will put an end to the violence that my country is suffering from and paying the heaviest price for.

The President (*spoke in French*): The representative of Israel has asked for the floor once again. I give him the floor.

Mr. Gillerman (Israel): Once again, I must agree with my colleague. He is very right: violence indeed breeds violence. The violence emanating from Lebanon against Israel, after Israel totally vacated and withdrew from every inch of Lebanon, is indeed violence. It cannot be justified; there are no more alibis. When the representative of Lebanon says that his country wants the Sheba'a farms back, he should ask his neighbours, the Syrians, to return them. They claim that the Sheba'a farms are Syrian. We cannot give back something that is not ours. All we know is that the Security Council has declared emphatically, categorically and unequivocally that Israel has left every single millimetre — not inch, but millimetre — of Lebanon. How long can we keep hearing these alibis and excuses for the violence?

Violence is there because Lebanon has allowed violence to take it over. It has allowed a peaceful, fun-loving, entrepreneurial and cultural country to become a hotbed of terrorism and a cesspool of hatred. When those children are incited the way they are, do not expect them to grow up any other way. Those children do not need Qana in order to hate us. All they have to do is to read the textbooks from which Hizbollah teaches them, and to hear the sermons they hear in their places of teaching and prayer. They do not need any further incentive. I believe that no baby is born wanting to be a suicide bomber, and no mother gives birth to a child wanting him to become a shahid. But if that is the kind of culture they grow up in, indeed violence breeds violence.

The President (*spoke in French*): Minister Mitri has asked for the floor once again. I very willingly give him the floor, in the hope that the interesting discussion we are listening to very carefully will conclude with the dignity in which it began.

Mr. Mitri (Lebanon): I think I have said all I wanted to say. I think hatred is not in anybody's genes. Hatred is not in our culture, nor in anyone's culture. This war will breed hatred, as it breeds despair, aggravates frustration and produces the sense of being dispossessed and humiliated. There is a history to this — a history of injustice. I am sure all the members of the Council know what history I am talking about.

As to resolution 425 (1978), I was quoting the Rome presidential statement to suggest that it is not just Lebanon that has been assertive of the need to be given back the Sheba'a farms, the Lebanese prisoners and the maps of the landmines in southern Lebanon. There is a greater understanding on the part of the international community concerning those legitimate requests. I think meeting such legitimate requests is part of any honourable political solution.

The President (*spoke in French*): There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

In accordance with the understanding reached earlier, I invite the members of the Council to proceed to informal consultations following the adjournment of this meeting.

The meeting rose at 3.50 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.5504

Security Council

Sixty-first year

Provisional

5504th meeting

Thursday, 3 August 2006, 12.50 p.m.

New York

President:	Nana Effah-Apenteng	(Ghana)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. García Moritán
	China	Ms. Cheng Hong
	Congo	Mr. Ikouebe
	Denmark	Mr. Faaborg-Andersen
	France	Mr. De Rivière
	Greece	Mrs. Papadopoulou
	Japan	Mr. Kitaoka
	Peru	Mr. Gallardo
	Qatar	Mr. Al-Qahtani
	Russian Federation	Mr. Shcherbak
	Slovakia	Mr. Burian
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Johnston
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Salaita
	United States of America	Mr. Brencick

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

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06-45429 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.50 p.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

The President: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of August, I should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. Jean-Marc de La Sablière, Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of July 2006. I am sure I speak for all members of the Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador De La Sablière for the great diplomatic skill with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the consideration of the item, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ileka (Democratic Republic of the Congo) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

After consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council.

"The Security Council pays tribute to the citizens of the Democratic Republic of the Congo who, on 30 July 2006, took part in great numbers, freely and peacefully, in democratic elections of historical importance for their nation. It appeals to them to receive the results with the same spirit of civic responsibility, and to display the same commitment in the subsequent polls, with a view to ensuring the success of the democratic process.

"The Security Council expresses its appreciation to the Independent Electoral Commission for the untiring efforts they made to ensure that the polls could take place in the best possible conditions, and looks forward to the official announcement of the results by the Commission. It expresses its support to the Committee of the Wise chaired by President Joachim Chissano, whose role contributes greatly to the serenity and fairness of the electoral process.

"The Security Council expresses its gratitude to the United Nations Mission, MONUC, as well as to all the international partners of the Democratic Republic of the Congo who provided support to the electoral process, in particular its African partners, and especially South Africa, as well as the European Union and the force it has temporarily deployed during this period.

"The Security Council notes that the electoral campaign and the voting process took place largely in a calm environment. It deplores the incidents which occurred in recent days, in particular in Kinshasa, Mbuji Mayi and Mweka. It endorses the opinion of the International Committee in Support to the Transition (CIAT), who welcomed, in this context, the work of the National Police forces.

"The Security Council urges all political actors in the Democratic Republic of the Congo to continue to work to ensure that the electoral process proceeds in a free, transparent and peaceful manner, in accordance with the agreed timetable. The Council calls on political leaders to refrain from making inflammatory speeches.

"The Security Council underlines that those elections will mark the completion of a long period of rule by transitional institutions, and the

start of democratic rule. The people who will be destined to lead the country will bear the important responsibility to provide long-term foundations for the restoration of peace and stability, national reconciliation and the establishment of the rule of law in the Democratic Republic of the Congo."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2006/36.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.5505

Security Council

Sixty-first year

Provisional

5505th meeting

Monday, 7 August 2006, 11.30 a.m.

New York

President:	Nana Effah-Apenteng	(Ghana)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. García Moritán
	China	Mr. Li Junhua
	Congo	Mr. Ikouebe
	Denmark	Ms. Løj
	France	Mr. Duclos
	Greece	Mrs. Papadopoulou
	Japan	Mr. Haneda
	Peru	Mr. Ruiz Rosas
	Qatar	Mr. Al-Nasser
	Russian Federation	Mr. Shcherbak
	Slovakia	Mr. Burian
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Salaita
	United States of America	Ms. Wolcott Sanders

Agenda

The situation in Côte d'Ivoire

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

06-45659 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 11.40 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Côte d'Ivoire

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Côte d'Ivoire, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the consideration of the item, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Djangoné-Bi (Côte d'Ivoire) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to documents S/2006/516 and S/2006/584, containing letters from the Secretary-General dated 12 July and 26 July 2006, respectively.

After consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council.

"The Security Council affirms its commitment to the implementation of the peace process and of the road map established by the International Working Group (IWG). It welcomes the initiatives of the Prime Minister, Mr. Charles Konan Banny, and the ongoing dialogue among President Laurent Gbagbo, the Prime Minister and all other Ivorian parties.

"The Security Council reiterates its full support for the Prime Minister. It welcomes his determination to implement the decisions taken by all Ivorian parties at the high-level meeting held in Yamoussoukro on 5 July 2006. It strongly encourages him to continue his efforts and demands that all Ivorian parties cooperate with him fully and in good faith.

"The Security Council welcomes the launch of the mobile courts throughout Côte d'Ivoire and the Prime Minister's announcement of the completion of the pre-cantonment of the Defence and Security Forces of Côte d'Ivoire and of the Armed Forces of the Forces nouvelles. The Security Council further welcomes the establishment of the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) Monitoring Group, the measures taken to implement the quadripartite control of pre-cantonment operations and the beginning of operations to dismantle and disarm the militias. It takes note of the signing of a presidential decree allowing the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) to propose any technical adjustments to the electoral code for the transitional elections.

"The Security Council expresses its concern that the IEC's structures have not been deployed throughout the country as well as the local offices of the National Commission of Supervision of the Identification. It urges the Ivorian parties to settle these issues without delay.

"The Security Council strongly condemns the obstructions to the normal functioning of the mobile courts which followed the calls for such action made by political leaders, in particular the Chairman of the FPI and the President of the former National Assembly. It notes that the procedures of the mobile courts were decided in consultation with President Laurent Gbagbo. It urges all parties to ensure that the mobile courts function without further hindrance.

"The Security Council expresses its utmost concern and condemns the acts of violence committed by organized groups, in particular the Young Patriots, which led to the deaths of civilians, and further condemns the attack of 24 July against the High Representative for the Elections, despite the presence of the Republican Guard at the scene.

"The Security Council condemns also the incidents of 15 July at the premises of the Radio Télévision Ivoirienne (RTI). It calls on the Ivorian authorities to strengthen security

measures at RTI. It underlines the importance of guaranteeing the independence and neutrality of the media in Cote d'Ivoire.

"The Security Council reaffirms its support for the implementation of measures against those responsible as provided for in paragraphs 9 and 11 of resolution 1572 (2004) and underlines that the reports of the events described above will be examined by the Sanctions Committee established by paragraph 14 of resolution 1572 (2004).

"The Security Council demands that the Defence and Security Forces of Côte d'Ivoire, including the Republican Guard, act within the law of the land at all times to ensure full security of the population, including foreigners, and support the implementation of the road map led by the Prime Minister. It reaffirms in this regard paragraphs 8 and 9 of resolution 1633 (2005). It recalls that the Defence and Security Forces and the Forces nouvelles must ensure the security of the mobile courts hearings in the areas under their control.

"The Security Council demands also that all Ivorian parties cooperate fully in the operations of the Impartial Forces, in particular by guaranteeing the safety, security and freedom of movement of their personnel, as well as associated personnel, throughout the territory of Côte d'Ivoire, and affirms that any obstacle to their freedom of movement or to the full implementation of their mandates will not be tolerated. It recalls paragraph 4 of resolution 1643 (2005) in this regard.

"The Security Council reaffirms the importance of the concomitant implementation of the identification and DDR operations and of the acceleration by all Ivorian parties of the implementation of the road map in order to create the conditions indispensable for the holding of free, open, fair and transparent elections within the agreed timetable.

"The Security Council therefore considers that it is necessary to deploy throughout the territory of Côte d'Ivoire as many mobile courts as possible towards the objective of 150 mobile courts called for in the Prime Minister's plan and to complete the second phase of the DDR programme, the cantonment of combatants, before the next meeting of the IWG. It encourages the Prime Minister to take all the necessary actions to this end, with the agreement of all Ivorian parties, as well as for the organization of the elections. It calls on the IWG to monitor such progress and to report to it on its assessment of the progress made.

"The Security Council expresses its full support for the IWG and endorses its ninth communiqué, dated 20 July 2006. It reiterates its full support for the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the High Representative for the Elections."

This statement will be issued as document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2006/37.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 11.50 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.5506

Security Council

Distr.: General
8 August 2006

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 5506th (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private at Headquarters, New York, on Tuesday, 8 August 2006, at 10 a.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"On 8 August 2006, the Security Council, pursuant to annex II, sections A and B of resolution 1353 (2001), held its 5506th meeting in private with the troop-contributing countries to the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH).

"The Security Council and the troop-contributing countries heard a briefing under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure by Mr. Edmond Mulet, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti.

"Members of the Council, Mr. Mulet and representatives of participating troop-contributing countries had a constructive exchange of views."

06-45856 (E) 080806

United Nations S/PV.5507

Security Council

Sixty-first year

Provisional

5507th meeting

Tuesday, 8 August 2006, 12.30 p.m.

New York

President:	Nana Effah-Apenteng	(Ghana)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Mayoral
	China	Mr. Li Kexin
	Congo	Mr. Okio
	Denmark	Ms. Løj
	France	Mr. De Rivière
	Greece	Mrs. Papadopoulou
	Japan	Mr. Kitaoka
	Peru	Mr. Zanelli
	Qatar	Mr. Al-Bader
	Russian Federation	Mr. Smirnov
	Slovakia	Mr. Burian
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Johnston
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Manongi
	United States of America	Mr. Brencick

Agenda

General issues relating to sanctions

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

06-45826 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.30 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

General issues relating to sanctions

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2006/616, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Denmark, France, Japan, Slovakia, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, China, Congo, Denmark, France, Ghana, Greece, Japan, Peru, Qatar, Russian Federation, Slovakia, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1699 (2006).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.5508

Security Council

Sixty-first year

Provisional

5508th meeting

Tuesday, 8 August 2006, 3.30 p.m.

New York

President:	Nana Effah-Apenteng	(Ghana)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Mayoral
	China	Mr. Liu Zhenmin
	Congo	Mr. Ikouebe
	Denmark	Ms. Løj
	France	Mr. De La Sablière
	Greece	Mr. Vassilakis
	Japan	Mr. Oshima
	Peru	Mr. Pereyra Plasencia
	Qatar	Sheikh Hamad bin Jassem bin Jabr Al-Thani
	Russian Federation	Mr. Churkin
	Slovakia	Mr. Burian
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Emyr Jones Parry
	United Republic of Tanzania	Mr. Manongi
	United States of America	Mr. Bolton

Agenda

The situation in the Middle East

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-154A.

06-45832 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I invite His Highness Sheikh Abdullah Bin Zayed Al-Nahyan, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the United Arab Emirates, to participate in this meeting, pursuant to rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, I invite His Excellency Mr. Amre Moussa, Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, to participate in this meeting, pursuant to rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

On behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to His Highness Sheikh Abdullah Bin Zayed Al-Nahyan and His Excellency Mr. Amre Moussa.

I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Israel and Lebanon, in which they request to be invited to participate in the consideration of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the consideration of the item, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Kofi Annan, at this meeting.

I now give the floor to His Excellency Sheikh Hamad bin Jassem bin Jabr Al-Thani, First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the State of Qatar.

Sheikh Al-Thani (Qatar) (*spoke in Arabic*): I should like to express my thanks and appreciation to you, Mr. President, for convening this important meeting. I also thank the Secretary-General and his staff for the efforts being made to contain the current crisis in the Middle East.

We are participating in this important Security Council meeting in the hope that the Council will carefully consider the delicate situation in Lebanon and in the Middle East, whose extraordinary circumstances and events are affecting peace, security and stability in the region. The current crisis in sisterly Lebanon comes at the expense of its people, its land, its infrastructure and its political stability.

When the United Nations was established, it was meant to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, as provided by the Charter of the Organization, which entrusted the Security Council with the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. That is a major responsibility that must be taken seriously, because it directly affects the lives and the livelihoods of innocent people. Therefore, it is most disheartening that the Security Council has stood idly by, unable to stop the bloodbath that has become the bitter daily lot of the defenceless Lebanese people.

The draft resolution now before the Council requires careful consideration that takes into account the Arab position as expressed at the extraordinary meeting of the Council of Ministers of the League of Arab States held yesterday in Beirut. At that meeting, the seven-point plan of the Prime Minister of Lebanon, which has been endorsed by all Lebanese political parties, was unequivocally adopted. The Council's consideration of this issue should also take into account the socio-political structure of Lebanese society as well as the interests, unity, stability and territorial integrity of Lebanon. Our presence at today's meeting is an explicit expression of the collective Arab position, which fully reflects Lebanon's position on the draft resolution.

Accordingly, we draw the Security Council's attention to the repercussions of adopting a non-enforceable resolution. That would further complicate the situation on the ground and have grave ramifications for Lebanon, for other Arab countries and for all the countries of the region. How often has the Council adopted resolutions to establish benchmarks

and lay the groundwork for peace in the region — resolutions that were not accepted by some parties and therefore were never enforced or implemented? An example can be found in the resolutions relevant to the primary question — the Palestinian question — and the repercussions of the conflict that has engulfed the region, leading to instability and to this spiralling cycle of violence.

It is a mistake to believe that pursuing a policy of violence against Lebanon will put an end to this situation and provide security for Israel or help to restore the stability we all desire. To the contrary, what is now occurring will sow the seeds of hatred and extremism in the area and provide a pretext for those who believe that the international community is taking sides and lacks fairness with regard to this dispute.

We believe that establishing a just, lasting and comprehensive peace is the only way to achieve stability in the region. We have expressed that strategic position again and again, and we remain committed to it. However, peace has requirements and commitments that all parties in the region must respect: everyone in the region must live within safe and recognized borders, and the Palestinian people must obtain their legitimate rights, including the right to establish their own independent State, living side by side in peace with the State of Israel.

We continue to have faith in the Security Council's ability to shoulder its Charter responsibilities to ensure the achievement of security, peace and stability in the region. The stakes are high; so are the hopes that the Council will adopt a decisive, substantive and clear resolution that serves not only Lebanon and the Arab community, but also a peace built on justice and equity and that takes into account the interests of all parties concerned without any discrimination. That can be achieved through an immediate comprehensive ceasefire, a withdrawal of Israeli forces to behind the Blue Line, a strengthening of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon through an increase in the Force's strength and material support and an expansion of its mandate to enable it to play the role entrusted to it, and support for the Lebanese Government's stated decision to extend its authority throughout its territory by deploying the Lebanese army.

The President: I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Tarek Mitri, Minister of Culture and Special Envoy of the Lebanese Council of Ministers.

Mr. Mitri (Lebanon): We have come to this body, to the international community, asking for an immediate and comprehensive ceasefire. Twenty-seven days ago, we asked for an immediate ceasefire. More than 900 lives ago, we asked for an immediate ceasefire. More than 3,000 injured civilians ago, we asked for an immediate ceasefire. We asked for a ceasefire when the 1 million Lebanese who are now sleeping on the floors of schools, public buildings and welcoming homes were still sleeping in their own homes — homes that, for many, no longer exist.

Eight days ago, in the shadow of the massacre of Qana, we pleaded again for an immediate and comprehensive ceasefire. We are meeting today in the shadow of yet more massacres — "mistakes", as Israel calls crimes against civilians. Twenty-eight farm workers were killed in Qaa, and yesterday, 38 civilians, at last count, were killed in the bombing in Al Shiyah, a residential area in Beirut.

I shall now quote from a report released by Human Rights Watch:

> "The pattern of attacks during the Israeli offensive in Lebanon suggests that the failures cannot be explained or dismissed as mere accidents; the extent of the pattern and the seriousness of the consequences indicate the commission of war crimes." (*Human Rights Watch, vol. 18 no. 3 E, August 2006, summary*)

Today, we received the draft resolution with acknowledgement of the efforts expended by many members of the Council to come to an agreement. We acknowledge their determination to end the violence, and we appreciate the concern expressed by the international community for the future of Lebanon, supporting our democratic Government and its attempt to provide a framework for peace and stability. Regrettably, the draft resolution not only falls short of meeting many of our legitimate requests but also may not bring about the results that the international community hopes it will achieve.

We requested an immediate ceasefire; what has taken so much time is still not an immediate ceasefire. It is neither immediate nor a ceasefire: the draft resolution calls for a "cessation of hostilities", laying

out some principles. Some of those principles Lebanon affirms and embraces. But greater clarity is needed on many other issues; that clarity is crucial for Lebanon.

The draft resolution calls for a cessation of attacks by Hizbollah and for Israel to stop all "offensive actions". Members of the Council all know that Israel has never conceded that its actions in Lebanon have been anything but "defensive". All the wars launched by Israel against our country have been claimed to be "self-defensive". In this respect, the draft resolution leaves Lebanon vulnerable to the whims of Israel. How can this be viable? How can a resolution provide for a cessation of hostilities and then in fact carry the great risk of continued violence and destruction?

Thus, for a cessation of hostilities to be viable, Israel has to start withdrawing immediately from Lebanese territory. This should not be postponed. The Lebanese armed forces, with the assistance of United Nations forces, should be the only ones to deploy throughout Lebanon, including in the area between the Blue Line and the Litani river. Our Government reaffirms its immediate readiness to deploy an Lebanese army force of 15,000 troops in the south as the Israeli army withdraws behind the Blue Line, and it expresses as well its readiness to request the assistance of additional forces to enhance the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, all on the basis of the seven-point plan that was unanimously approved by the Lebanese Council of Ministers yesterday.

Moreover, a serious move forward in dealing with the issue of Sheba'a farms is necessary for a durable and long-term political settlement. To be frank, we have had indications that the international community is ready to move on this issue, but the draft text before us does not sufficiently reflect such indications and such readiness.

Our people need an explicit and firm assurance from the international community that the integrity of our borders — ground, sea and air — finally will be respected by Israel. We do not need to list Israel's track record in refusing to comply with many Security Council resolutions. Suffice it to refer to Israel's 22-year delay in complying with resolution 425 (1978). Since its "withdrawal" in the year 2000, Israel has not respected Lebanese sovereignty. Frequently it has ignored the Blue Line, in both Lebanese territory and airspace, with impunity.

For its part, the Lebanese Government reaffirms its long-standing and consistent respect for international resolutions, and also reaffirms its determination to preserve its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We have laid before the Council what we think are the necessary prerequisites that will empower our Government to preserve our national unity as a people, to defend our right to live in peace and to rebuild our devastated country. To achieve those priority goals we need the sustained support and solidarity of the Security Council.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of Israel.

Mr. Gillerman (Israel): For the past four weeks, the peoples of Israel and Lebanon have been caught up in a brutal and tragic conflict. It has caused unbearable loss and suffering on both sides. It is time to bring this conflict to an end.

But speeches and resolutions do not themselves end conflicts. Neither do good intentions. Conflicts are ended by actions, not by words. They are ended when those who sparked the conflict and those who seek to continue to threaten the region are confronted and overcome. The critical test that the Security Council faces is not whether it can adopt a resolution. The question is whether the Council and the international community can adopt a course of action, a blueprint for change, which will end the threat that Hizbollah and its sponsors pose to the peoples of Israel and Lebanon and to the region as a whole.

That is the test, and both the forces of terror and the forces of moderation in the Middle East are looking to the Council to see if it is up to that challenge.

Neither the people of Israel nor the people of Lebanon have any wish to be in this conflict. There is no quarrel between us. Six years ago, Israel withdrew its forces from every inch of Lebanese territory, as the Council has emphatically confirmed.

It could not be clearer: the issue in this crisis is not territory, but terror. During the past six years, Hizbollah terrorists, funded, trained, armed and directed by Iran and Syria, have dug their roots deep into Lebanese soil and have spread their poisonous branches throughout its towns and villages. The evil fruit of this growth has been over 13,000 deadly missiles murderously directed at the people of Israel.

And over the past four weeks, Hizbollah has viciously implemented its threats, launching those lethal missiles directly and indiscriminately at the towns of Haifa and Afula, Nahariya and Hadera, Kiryat Shemona and Kfar Giladi, Carmiel, Metulla and Akko, and the holy cities of Nazareth and Tiberias, targeting men, women and children, Jewish, Muslim and Christian alike.

No country in the whole world would, or should, allow a terrorist organization to publicly threaten its destruction and to develop a vast infrastructure of terrorism unimpeded on its borders. No State represented in this Organization would, or should, sit passively while over 3,500 missiles are fired at its town and villages deliberately targeting homes and hospitals, at schools and kindergartens. No Government would, or should, do less to protect its people than the Government of Israel has done in the face of this Hizbollah campaign of terror, and no people would, or should, be satisfied unless their leaders did the same.

Israel, like any State, has done and will continue to do whatever is necessary to protect the lives of its citizens. It has the right and the duty to act in self-defence, and it will spare no effort to bring its abducted soldiers home.

In fulfilling this responsibility to protect its citizens, Israel's task is doubly complicated. It must defend itself against an enemy that not only deliberately targets civilians but that also hides among them, concealing its weapons and rocket launchers at the heart of civilian communities, as well as in mosques and United Nations compounds. For Hizbollah, civilians are not just a target, but also a shield.

In this impossible situation, in which Hizbollah openly flouts the fundamental humanitarian principle of distinguishing combatants from civilians, Israel has made strenuous efforts to defend itself in accordance with the principles of international law, to direct its attacks against military targets and to avoid disproportionate damage to the civilians used as cover by the terrorists. At the same time, even as the terrorists' missiles fly, Israel has worked to ensure that the humanitarian needs of the population can be met, enabling convoys carrying aid and supplies to reach those who need them and facilitating evacuation of foreign citizens and United Nations personnel.

Could there be a difference more striking or profound than that between Israel and the terrorists it is confronting, between those who equip their residential buildings with bomb shelters and those who fill them with missiles, between those who drop leaflets entreating civilians to leave the terrorist strongholds and those who hide rocket launchers beneath unknowing apartment dwellers, or between those who mourn the death of every civilian, Lebanese or Israeli, as a tragedy and a failure and those who see in it a victory and a cause for celebration?

I believe that the people of Lebanon, through all the pain and anguish of these past few weeks, have seen through the callous disregard of Hizbollah, which claims to fight their cause but places a weapon next to a sleeping child. I believe that one courageous Lebanese youngster was speaking for many when he wrote in his Internet blog, "It is not only Israeli soldiers that Hizbollah has taken hostage. It is us, the people of Lebanon". I believe it has never been clearer that, for all its talk of bravery, Hizbollah has demonstrated the lowest form of cowardice, cowering behind the weakest members of society. Indeed, in many cases, Hizbollah's lethal missiles are fired on timers, so that the terrorists can flee the launching site while leaving helpless families behind to shield the military target. And this the terrorists have learned well from their sponsors: from Iran and Syria. Just as Hizbollah chooses to hide behind others and fight from within their homes, so do Iran and Syria demonstrate cowardice and disdain, fighting their wars through proxies, on Lebanese soil. Perhaps more than anything else it is this disdain for the lives of those they claim to be fighting for, this chain of cowardice, which unites Iran and Syria, Hizbollah and Hamas: the quartet of terror.

These past four weeks of violence have taken a painful toll on the Lebanese and Israeli peoples. But they have also created a new opportunity. After six years of inaction that allowed Hizbollah, with the backing of Syria and Iran, to develop a lethal capacity to destabilize the region, a significant part of that capability has been destroyed. Hizbollah bases have been dismantled, missile launchers and stockpiles of weapons have been removed, and the area of south Lebanon has been substantially cleared of the infrastructure of terrorism. As a result, for the first time in six years, there is a possibility that Lebanon and the international community can begin anew and repair the omissions that led to the current crisis.

But this requires determined and forceful action. It requires a strong, robust and effective international force which will ensure the dismantling and disarming of all terrorist groups and the implementation of resolution 1559 (2004) in all its parts. It also requires enforceable and effective measures that will prevent the continued supply and rearmament of weapons and ammunition from the merchants of terror in Damascus and Tehran, which continue on a daily basis, even as we speak. And it requires the Government of Lebanon to show the will and the courage to retake control of its destiny, to confront the terrorists that have wreaked havoc on its society and to meet the basic obligations placed by international law and by the Council on Lebanon to end the use of its territory as a base to threaten the territory of others. These are fundamental and unconditional obligations expected of any Government, and they are not dependent on its assent.

These are practical measures needed to lead us out of this crisis. Israel is ready to cease hostilities and to withdraw its forces if these effective measures come in its place, so that the terrorist threat on its citizens is finally brought to an end. We want a ceasefire, but a ceasefire that sows the seeds of future peace, not of future conflict.

The test of any resolution or proposal must be whether it will effectively bring about those practical changes on the ground. Let us not forget that a resolution is not an end, but a means to achieving our end: a new and sustainable situation in which the peoples of Lebanon and Israel are freed from the threat of terror and have the chance to live a normal life in peace and prosperity.

I am sure that my Arab colleagues who have spoken today, and who I believe are sincere in their desire for peace and stability for the region, do not want a resolution to create a vacuum that Hizbollah will fill. I am sure that they do not want a return to the status quo ante, in which the terrorists and their sponsors can hold a region and the prospects for peace hostage. And I am sure they do not want a resolution that demonstrates impotence rather than action.

The terrorists are watching. If the Security Council adopts the path of half-measures, concessions and mere declarations, they will be emboldened, and we will find ourselves back at this table a week, a month or a year from now, facing a tragedy of similar, or even greater, proportions. But if the Council adopts a path of action and takes the measures necessary to ensure that its own resolutions are implemented, terrorists and their masters in our region and throughout the world will know that they have come face to face with the will and resolve of a united international community. And, as a result, the forces of peace and moderation in the Middle East will have won a crucial battle for the future of our tortured region.

We ask only that the international community stand by those forces of peace; that it understand that by fighting against terrorism, we fight for peace; and that it have the courage, the wisdom and the conviction to ensure that the end of this conflict creates a new pattern of behaviour — a reality in which the moderates prevail and the extremists meet with the justice and isolation they so clearly deserve.

I turn once again to my Lebanese colleague and, through him, to the Lebanese people. There is no dispute between us. The horrendous violence and suffering of these past few weeks have been fuelled not by any interest or agenda of either of our States. They have been fuelled only by the cynical and genocidal intent of extremist regimes that wish to destroy any possible prospect that we might turn their culture of hate into a culture of hope. We must change their culture of hate into a culture of hope — a culture in which Lebanese and Israeli children can go to school rather than cower in bomb shelters. We must do so today in order to bequeath to them the tomorrow they deserve.

I believe that this culture of hope can and will prevail. Children are not born wanting to be shahids or murderers of the innocent. Ultimately, the innate human desire to create a better life for ourselves and those around us will prove stronger than the hatreds that have manipulated and fuelled this conflict.

For the people of Lebanon, this is a critical moment of decision — whether to cast their lot with those who will work to promote peace and prosperity or with those committed to undermining any chance of such progress. The choice, quite simply, is between those who build and those who destroy. For the sake of our peoples, for the sake of our children, I beg them to choose the builders.

The flags of our two States, which show the cedars of Lebanon and the Star of David, remind us that the common history of our peoples is one of building together. The biblical Book of Kings recounts

that King Hiram of Tyre, in Lebanon, sent cedar trees and expert craftsmen to King Solomon, son of David, to join him in building the holy temple in the city of peace, Jerusalem. Our people have a long and glorious history of building together. Let us find the courage to rise from the ashes of war and the ruins of conflict, and to build together once again.

The President: I shall now give the floor to Sheikh Hamad bin Jassem bin Jabr Al-Thani, First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the State of Qatar, to make a further statement.

Sheikh Al-Thani (Qatar) (*spoke in Arabic*): I apologize for seeking the floor again.

I am happy to hear the representative of Israel express the wish for a ceasefire and speak so positively of the Lebanese people. Whether or not we agree with respect to the recent aggression, what has happened is the result of the violations committed by Israel against Lebanon before Hizbollah existed. Those include the repeated occupation and devastation of Lebanon.

Frankly, I am not defending any party, and what I know about Hizbollah I have learned through the media. We all know that this tragedy could have been averted by the granting of legitimate rights through the resolutions of the Security Council and agreements reached in Madrid and Oslo. Many factors have accumulated in favour of giving terrorists the opportunity to pursue acts that threaten international peace and security, precisely because we have been unable to ensure the implementation of Security Council resolutions, particularly on the issue of Palestine.

Many efforts have been made and many international peace conferences convened. Who is impeding peace today? Who is delaying the granting of rights today? All such factors are enflaming the region and encouraging the establishment of a society rife with unbridled terrorism, regardless of the legitimacy or lack thereof of its cause. We do want a cessation of hostilities and a ceasefire, but we want it to be just and established by a resolution of this Council, and not imposed exclusively from an Israeli perspective.

If we adopt resolutions without taking the reality of Lebanon fully into account, we will face a civil war there. Instead of helping Lebanon, as the representative of Israel has claimed to wish to do, we will destroy it. Many wars have raged there. My Lebanese colleague knows full well what he wants and what can be implemented on the ground. Let us do something to maintain peace and security in the region. Let us focus on who has implemented and who has failed to implement the Council's resolutions. Who is strictly subject to the resolutions of international legitimacy and who is not? Who has helped to create the phenomena of terrorism and jihad, cited by the representative of Israel, in the Arab world? The jihadists have seen weak Governments fail to obtain peace with Israel.

I speak on the basis of my faith in peace and our sincere wish to coexist in peace with Israel in the Arab region, but not in the way Israel wants. It must be on the basis of the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and adherence to the resolutions of international legitimacy.

The President: I shall now give the floor to Mr. Tarek Mitri, Minister of Culture and Special Envoy of the Lebanese Council of Ministers, to make a further statement.

Mr. Mitri (Lebanon): It pains me to hear the reference to Tyre cited from the Bible. Tyre is now a city of desolation. Tyre has been bombarded and pounded almost uninterruptedly for the past 10 days or so. King Hiram of Tyre sent cedar trees to build, and the Israelis are destroying Tyre today. It pains me to hear the reference to Tyre at this point in time.

The "campaign against terror", as the Israelis like to call their all-out war against Lebanon, has been perceived, felt and lived by the Lebanese as horror — nothing but horror. In Israel's wanting to destroy the infrastructure of terrorism, as we heard, it is the infrastructure of Lebanon that is destroyed.

All in this body know that, in international law, there are two principles regarding civilians: the principle of distinction and the principle of proportionality. I am afraid that those two principles have been systematically violated since 12 July. Be that as it may, I will end with these few words.

I am here — we are all here — to find a way out. Yesterday's proposal by our Government is a viable option and should be looked at as a viable option. It allows for a true and effective cessation of hostilities. It will lead to a durable ceasefire. It opens the way forward: it opens the way forward towards a more

durable solution. I hope that the opportunity that this option offers is not missed.

The President: I now wish to give the floor to the representative of Israel to make a further statement.

Mr. Gillerman (Israel): I would like to reply to Mr. Mitri's, I believe, genuinely expressed pain about Tyre. We share that pain; we share that pain very much. We grieve for the destruction of Tyre. But I listened very, very carefully to the statement made by the Lebanese representative, and there is one word which was curiously missing from that statement. That word is "Hizbollah". We did not hear that word once, as if Tyre were just a quiet peaceful town and not a hub of terrorism from which rockets and missiles have been fired at Haifa and other Israeli cities — as if there were no Hizbollah, as if this all came out of nowhere. I think that there should be at least some mention of the true root cause of this horrible conflict, which is the fact that Hizbollah has taken Lebanon, including Tyre, hostage.

It is actually the Ambassador of Lebanon, who is sitting behind Mr. Mitri, who said on United States television that in Lebanon you cannot distinguish between the Lebanese and Hizbollah. In his words, Hizbollah is everywhere in Lebanon. Hizbollah has infiltrated every fibre of Lebanon and, in his words, become part of Lebanese society. To address this painful problem, including the pain of Tyre, without mentioning Hizbollah borders on — I will not use the word that I wanted to use.

The President: There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 4.25 p.m.